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Author of *Shakespeare's Stratford* and of *Master
Richard Quyny, Bailiff of Stratford-upon-Avon and
Friend of William Shakespeare*;
Editor of *Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation
of Stratford-upon-Avon*,
1553-1620

Printed in Great Britain

To
MY FELLOW-PILGRIM
PAUL

PREFACE

IN this book I have confined my survey to the townships and villages in the neighbourhood of Stratford which have some reasonable connexion with Shakespeare.

I am indebted to many friends and fellow-workers, for information and suggestion, for permission to publish and reproduce, and for helpful criticism. Particularly I would express my gratitude to the Rev. J. H. Hodgson and the Honourable Mrs. Hodgson of Clopton; to Sir Henry and Lady Fairfax-Lucy of Charlecote; to Sir Edmund K. Chambers; to Mr. Gerald Moira, head of the Edinburgh College of Art, illustrator of the late Major Walter's *Shakespeare's True Life*; to my brother, Mr. Thomas W. Fripp of Vancouver, B. C.; to my son, Mr. Paul Fripp, Director of Art at the Ladies' College, Cheltenham (for sixteen of the photographic illustrations); to Mr. Douglas J. McNeille of Stratford (for illustration of Hewlands facing page 5); to Miss Elsie Fogerty; to Mr. B. H. Newdigate, of the Shakespeare Head Press; and to Mr. F. C. Wellstood, Secretary and Librarian of the Shakespeare Birthplace. To two workers now gone, I owe not a little—Mr. Alfred Rodway and Mr. Richard Savage. By the last I was introduced to more than one of these loved 'Haunts'.

E. I. F.

Stow-on-the-Wold,
July 1929.



TEMPLE GRAFTON OLD CHURCH

From engraving by Gerald Moira

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THE ARTIST AND HIS ENVIRONMENT

How the Great Artist reflected his environment, while he mirrored so much more, may be briefly illustrated to the reader of this and my previous little work, *Shakespeare's Stratford*, in the case of an early play, written probably at Stratford in the autumn of 1593 for presentation before the Queen at Christmas, *Love's Labour's Lost*.¹ At every turn we are reminded of his native town and the neighbourhood. We come upon his boyhood and school-days, his lessons and games, his early manhood and sports, his neighbours and relatives, his garden, the farmhouse life of Warwickshire, the Forest, the fallow deer of Arden. We hear the lark at dawn ('the ploughman's clock'), the cuckoo 'on every tree', the cooing of pigeons, the mingled cawing of rooks and chatter of daws, the hissing of geese on the common. Meadows are 'painted with delight', daisies are on the lawn, violets, cuckoo-buds, ladysmocks are in the lanés, maidens 'bleach their summer-smocks', roses are blowing among lilies and columbines in 'the curious knotted garden'. Osiers are by the Avon, oaks and sycamores and cedars are in the park—not Greenwich but Clopton or Goldcote. Roes 'run o'er the land'. We note the distinction between pricket, sorel, sore, and 'buck of the first head', between a colt and a hackney. Youths 'bolt' birds along the hedges, men are at the Butts by the Bridge, or at quarter-staff on Bank Croft, the forester is at the coppice-edge with his cross-bbow, his master with hounds drives a stag into a toil, or courses a hare. Boys whip their 'gig' (a top made of horn), play 'all hid' or 'more sacks to the mill'. There is snow in May, frost and immediate thaw in winter; milk in the morning is frozen and ways are miry in the afternoon. Shepherd blows

¹ The season of the play is late summer, when Boyet may 'close his eyes some half an hour under the cool shade of a sycamore' (v. ii. 89): but the imagery is from all the seasons.

his nail, Tom bears logs into the hall, Marian's nose is red and raw, Joan 'keels' the pot (as Dives would have Father Abraham dip his finger in water and 'keel' his tongue),¹ the wind blows in the church roof, and the voice of vicar Bramhall in the three-decker pulpit is drowned with coughing. Folk gather at the hearth, roast crab-apples and drop them hissing-hot in their beer, with caudle and flap-dragon, metheglin, wort or malmsey keep out the cold, beguile the short interval between sunset and bed with backgammon, 'novum' (forbidden to be played in alehouses and taverns for money), and 'pushpin'. Outside, owls 'to-whit to-who' *merrily* (the happy Stratford man speaks, not the reader of Ovid²). We meet with a rustic company—morris-dancers, performers of a pageant, the beadle with his whip (for dogs in church and misbehaving boys), the head-borough 'Master Dull', the night-watch constable, 'Wit's pedlar' (forerunner of Autolycus), who retails his wares

At wakes and wassails, meetings, markets, fairs;
 the frail Jaquenetta, a country wench with a 'fine' name, whose head is turned by the attentions and the tunic (with no shirt under it) of a Spanish don; and her true lover, Costard, jealous for her honour, faithful and honest, and scornful of the 'greasy' jests of his 'bettters'.³ Lastly, there is the immortal pair, the Schoolmaster and the Curate, I do not doubt caricatures of the self-important, scholarly,⁴ irascible Aspinall and the mild Sir Willy Gilbert *alias* Higgs.

At the same time, this Stratford poet is so much more. He

¹ 'Send Lazarus that he dippe the laste part of his fyngur in watir and kele my tunge' (Wycliffe Version, Luke xvi. 24).

² Ovid's *bubo dedit omina* (*Metamorphoses*, xv. 791)—whence Shakespeare, 'Thou ominous and fearful owl of death' (*1 Henry VI*, iv. ii. 15), and 'owls' death-boding cries' (*Lucrece*, 165). See p. 40 and note.

³ *Love's Labour's Lost*, iv. i. 136–151.

⁴ Holofernes is an 'Artsman' (v. i. 85)—that is, a graduate of Oxford (or Cambridge), and is called 'Pedant'. He could not possibly say *Facile* for *Fauste* in Mantuan's School Latin, as the Cambridge editors declare (*Love's Labour's Lost*, p. 202).

is making his entrée among great contemporaries—a visitor to the Tiltyard at Westminster,¹ a reader of fashionable literature (while he keeps to his Ovid and his Bible), a satirist of French politics, holding up to ridicule the Queen's late Huguenot allies, burlesquing them for their eloquence in compliment and inefficiency in statesmanship, a satirist also of the English Court and its affected courtesies, and not afraid, such is his youthful spirit (he is not yet 30) and evident popularity, to rebuke the Queen herself (while he slyly compliments her on her auburn hair) for unsportsmanlike hunting. At Cowdray on Monday, 16 August 1591, a guest of Viscount Montague, her Majesty with all her train 'rode into the park, where was a delicate bower prepared, under the which were her Highness's musicians placed, and a crossbow by a nymph, with a sweet song, delivered to her hands to shoot at the deer, *about some thirty in number put into a paddock, of which number she killed three or four, and the Countess of Kildare one*'.² Shakespeare could not stand this. His Princess is more merciful:

Now mercy goes to kill,
And shooting well is then accounted ill.
Thus will I save my credit in the shoot:
Not wounding, Pity would not let me do it;
If wounding, then it was to show my Skill,
That more for praise than purpose meant to kill.
And out of question so it is sometimes,
Glory grows guilty of detested crimes
When for fame's sake, for praise an outward part,
*We bend to that the working of the heart.*³

Bold words and true. 'Glory' was a Court-name for the Queen—as in Spenser's famous letter to Raleigh in *The Faerie Queene* in 1590, and in Raleigh's his letter to Cecil, July 1592:

¹ v. ii. 481 f.

² *The Queen's Entertainment at Cowdray* ('August 17' should be August 16).

³ IV. i. 24-33.

'O Glory! . . . she is gone in whom I trusted.' To her lasting credit she never respected an admirer the less who had the courage to face her as a gentleman—Raleigh, Sidney, Shakespeare. And how could she fail to forgive the critic who had brought her all this breezy wisdom and beauty from Warwickshire?

I. SHOTTERY

A FOOTPATH from Back Lane led Shakespeare to Shottery, about a mile to the west of Stratford. Through fields striped for 'common' culture, it passed by the grounds and dovehouse of the Manor Farm, to the little hamlet of a score of homesteads and cottages by a stream, happy in gardens and children and young people, smitten terribly at times by epidemic, and divided like Stratford sharply in religion.

Here 'in the purlieus of the Forest' was Hewlands, the home of Anne Hathaway—Celia's home in *As You Like It*, the situation of which could not be better described than by herself, as approached with loving observation by the Poet from Stratford:

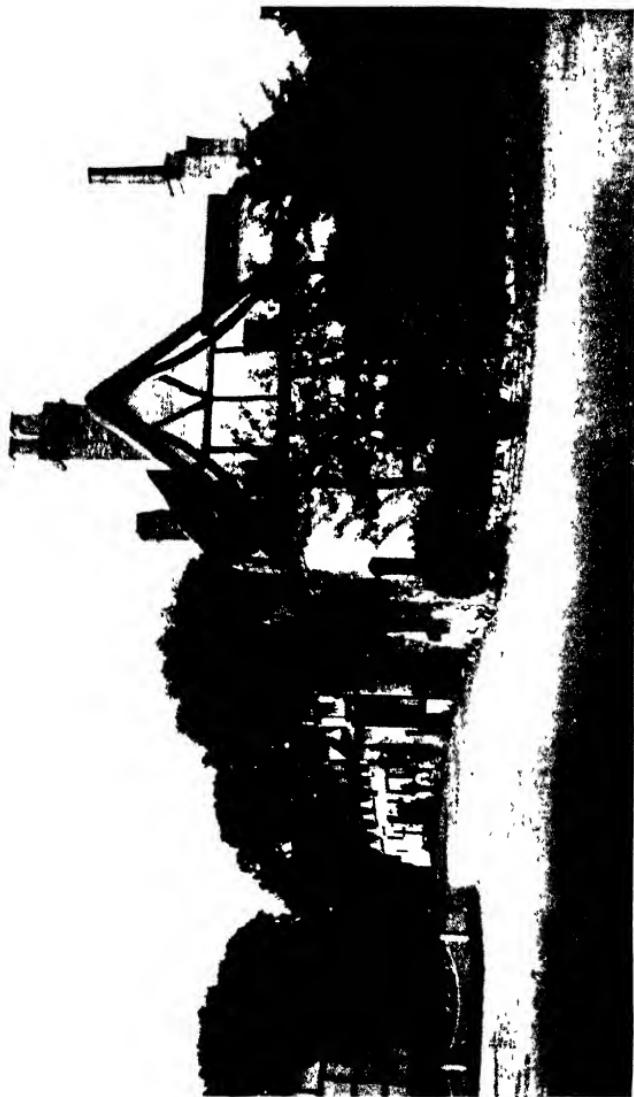
West of this place, down in the neighbour bottom,
The rank of osiers by the murmuring stream
Left on your right hand brings you to the place.¹

It still stands, if somewhat rebuilt since her time,² not indeed 'a sheep-cote fenced about with olive trees', but a substantial double 'messuage' and a 'toft', with two or two-and-a-half 'virgates' or 'yardlands', as when held *per copiam* ('in copy' as the lawyer-Poet would say³) from the lord of the manor at a quit rent of 33*s.* 8*d.* (or 33*s.* 4*d.*) *per annum*.

¹ IV. iii. 79-81. Rosalind speaks of it as 'in the skirts of the Forest, like fringe upon a petticoat' (III. ii. 353 f.). A 'bottom' is a common name in Warwickshire for a valley with a stream in it, cf. *I Henry IV*, III. i. 105 ('rob me of so rich a bottom').

² Halliwell-Phillipps, *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, ii. 192 f.

³ 'Nature's copy's not eterne' (*Macbeth*, III. ii. 38). His phrase above, 'purlieus of the Forest', is legal.



SHOTTERY

Brick between the timbers has replaced the old wattle and daub and distorted the framework of these ancient houses



*'Down in the neighbour bottom
The rank of osiers by the murmuring stream
Left on your right-hand brings you to the place'*

A 'messuage' was a dwelling, a 'toft' the site of a dwelling ruinous or gone. A 'virgate' or 'yardland' was a holding made up of parcels of dispersed land (measured by the yard or rod) of different and convenient quality (for 'arable, meadow, common, and pasture', or what not), varying considerably in extent, from about twenty to forty acres. Hence the description of part of the farm as half a virgate (*dimidiam virgatam*) in 1556 and one virgate in 1590 and one yardland in 1610. In Shakespeare's time, as now, the Hathaway home was a double dwelling. By it or near it was a site which might be turned to use. Belonging to it were some fifty to ninety acres of land.

The family of Hathaway *alias* Gardner was prominent in the parish (Stratford parish, but outside the borough) in 1520, and how long before we know not. Robert Gardner was on the Jury of Frankpledge (the Court Leet of the manor) in April 1520, and John Hathaway was elected a constable in October; and both were on the Jury in 1522, as Robert and John Gardner, probably father and son. The latter, as John Hathaway, was on the Jury in the years 1528-30. Thomas and John Gardner were on the Jury in 1538-9, the former, as Thomas Hathaway, having a stray horse in his keeping in 1539. John Hathaway was tenant of Hewlands from 1543 to 1556,¹ how long before and after we know not, and served on the Jury of Frankpledge in the years 1544-8. He was presented as an 'able' (substantial) man and 'archer' in 1536;²

¹ Johannes Hathewey tenet per copiam curie datam xx die Aprilis anno regni nuper regis Henrici Octavi xxxiiij^{to} unum messuagium et dimidiam virgatam terre jacentem in Shotterey vocatam Hewland, et unum messuagium et unam virgatam terre nuper in tenura Thome Perkyns, ac unum toftum et dimidiam virgatam terre vocatam Hewlyns, cum suis pertinenciis, ibidem habendum sibi et suis secundum consuetudinem manerii predicti, reddendo inde per annum, xxxiiij^s viij [iiij^d?] sectam curie et finem ac heriettum cum acciderit (Survey, Oct. 1556. Longbridge MS. quoted by Halliwell-Phillipps, *Outlines*, ii. 190).

² *Outlines*, ii. 190.

'was fined with others (20*d.*) for allowing his sheep to stray into 'several land' (*in separali terra*) to the common harm (*ad communem nocumentum*),¹ in 1544; had a stray sheep in his keeping in April 1547, and still in October (valued at 2*s.* 8*d.*); and was elected a constable in October 1548.² He was assessed on £10 in *goods* (not being a freeholder) in 1549. Probably he died before the beginning of the Stratford burial-register in March 1558. Without doubt he was the father of the next occupant of Hewlands, Richard Hathaway *alias* Gardner, and grandfather of Anne Hathaway.

2. RICHARD HATHAWAY ALIAS GARDNER

AN entry in the Court of Record for 7 December 1563 is the earliest allusion (save in the church-register) to Anne Hathaway's father. It runs, *Ricardus Hathaway queritur versus Robertum Miles in placito debiti* ('Richard Hathaway sues Robert Miles in a plea of debt'). Miles was a small brewer and yeoman of Stratford, who had incurred on various occasions the penalties of his calling. He was fined for putting hops in his ale, selling beer that was unwholesome, failing to send for the tasters to sample his brew, grinding other men's malt and thus encroaching on the right of maltsters, allowing his swine to wander in the streets, and laying muck in Tinkers' Lane and near the Chapel. He failed to appear in answer to Hathaway's charge, and the usual precept to distrain was issued on 22 December. But he was sick and, as it proved, near his end. On 24 January 1564 he made his will, and on 31st he was buried. The inventory of his goods, valued at £9 5*s.* 10*d.*

¹ The distinction between 'several' and 'common' was well known to the lawyer-Poet (better known than to us) and introduced into his early work: 'Why should my heart think that a several plot which my heart knows the wide world's common-place?' (Sonnets 137), and 'My lips are no common though several they be' (*Love's Labour's Lost*, II. i. 223).

² Court Rolls of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, 195, 7 and 9; Court Roll, Worcester, 43, 763, and 766.

(we must multiply by twelve, at least, for its modern, 1929, equivalent), was made on 4 February by Master William Bott of New Place, and others, and his will was proved and inventory exhibited before John Bretchgirdle, the vicar, in his Peculiar Court, on 15 May.

Less than three weeks previously, on Wednesday, 26 April, John Bretchgirdle, M.A. of Oxford, baptized William Shakespeare.

Among the effects of Robert Miles were belongings of the orphan children of one Thomas Fille. These children had been entrusted to the care of himself and his wife, and one he had clothed and sent as an apprentice to London. An item in the boy's account is an interesting little discovery. It is, 'Paid to John Shakespeare 15d.'—perhaps for a pair of gloves and a leather-bag for the journey.

Richard Hathaway at this time had three children living and two dead. The dead were both named Richard; the living were Anne (who still lives), Bartholomew and Katharine. This winter (1563-4), or soon after, Richard Hathaway lost his wife, and Anne, about seven or eight years old (born shortly before 6 August 1556), lost her mother. This wife and mother may have come from Temple Grafton, and may have been buried there. Then, with three young children to care for, Richard Hathaway married a second wife, Joan, who bore him a child, Joan, in May 1566.

In 1566, and how long before we know not, Richard Hathaway and John Shakespeare, now an alderman and 'Master Shakespeare', were friends. Richard Hathaway owed John Page £8 and Joan Biddle £11, and was called upon to pay. In August, when his harvest was being gathered in, a writ of *capias* was issued, but Master Shakespeare stood his surety. In September, as Hathaway had not paid, an injunction was issued against his friend. We hear no more of the case, and assume that Hathaway, with his barns full, met the liability.

Such transactions were common and, in the absence of banks, little more than formalities. Significant, however, is the largeness of the sum and John Shakespeare's willingness to make himself responsible. A resister to the last ditch against a grievance, he could always find money on behalf of his friend or religion. I do not think, from what we know of the Poet's father, that he would have helped Richard Hathaway had the latter been a 'papist'.¹ In the autumn of 1566 William Shakespeare was two and a half years old and his future wife was a girl of ten.

3. ANNE AND BARTHOLOMEW HATHAWAY

OTHER children were born to Richard Hathaway, in 1569, 1572, 1575, 1578. Anne's place in the home until her father's death in 1581 was that of an eldest sister, with a brother (Bartholomew) a year or two younger than herself, a sister (Katharine) seven years younger than herself, and step-brothers and a step-sister who were children when she was grown up. She was twenty-five at the making of her father's will on 1 September and apparently betrothed, with her father's approval, to young Shakespeare. He left her £6 13s. 4d., 'to be paid unto her at the day of her marriage'. He bequeathed the same sum in the same terms to Katharine, who was nearly eighteen and apparently also betrothed; but to Margaret, a girl of nine, he left the same sum 'to be paid unto her at the age of seventeen'.

His bequest to Bartholomew is what we might expect in a double and not altogether united household:

'Item my will is (with the consent of Joan my wife) that my eldest son shall have the use, commodity and profit of one half yardland to be tilled, mucked and sowed at the charges of Joan my wife, he only finding seed, during the natural life or widow-

¹ See 'The Religion of Shakespeare's Father' (*Hibbert Journal*, April 1928).

hood of the same Joan my wife, to be severed from the other of my land.¹ And my will is that he, the same Bartholomew, shall be a guide to my said wife in her husbandry, and also a comfort unto his brethren and sisters to his power. Provided always that if the said Joan my wife shall at any time or times after my decease go about to disannul or to take away from my said son the foresaid half yardland, then the said Joan shall give unto my said son within one year after such denial the sum of Forty Pounds.'

Another 'item' must be noted:

'My will is that all the seelings² in my hall-house, with two joined-beds in my parlour,² shall continue and stand unremoved during the natural life or widowhood of Joan my wife and the natural life of Bartholomew my son, and John my son, and the longest-liver³ of them.'

And yet another:

'I owe unto Thomas Whittington my shepherd four pounds, six shillings, eight pence.'

So directed the dying man in his chamber at Hewlands to the writer, who was the lovable curate, Sir William Gilbert *alias* Higgs (as already said, the inoffensive prototype in after-years of Shakespeare's 'Sir Nathaniel', without guile).⁴ Six days later, on Thursday, 7 September, his body was conveyed to Stratford and laid to rest in the churchyard: 'honestly buried', to use his and Gilbert's expression, common among Protestants, from the story of Tobit in the Geneva Bible, 'burie me honestly and thy mother with me' (xiiii. 10).

Widow Hathaway or Gardner did not marry again, and continued to reside at Hewlands with her three boys, Thomas, John, and William, and daughter Margaret. We have a

¹ Wainscot.

² p. 14.

³ A legal term that sticks to Shakespeare as an old attorney's clerk, and turns up absurdly in the mouth of a servant in *Romeo and Juliet*, I. v. 17.

⁴ *Shakespeare's Stratford*, 28, 48, 51.

glimpse of her as head of the household in 1590—‘Johanna Hatheway vidua’, tenant of the messuage and two and a half virgates of land at a rent of 33*s.* 4*d.*,¹ and again in 1595 as having corn and a family, including servants, of six. She died in 1599, and was buried in Stratford churchyard, no doubt by the side of her husband, on 5 September, ‘Jone Gardner de Shotrey’. Her sons, John and William, were her executors. She left 57*s.* to her shepherd, Thomas Whittington.

This 57*s.*, like the £4 6*s.* 8*d.* due to him in Richard Hathaway’s will, was doubtless savings entrusted to his employer by Whittington at interest. He probably lived at Hewlands, how long before 1581 we do not know, but from that year until Widow Gardner’s death, and until his own death in April 1601, a link, like the ‘seelings’ in the ‘hall’ and the handsome bedsteads in the ‘parlour’, between the generations. Shakespeare must have seen him at a shepherds’ feast with Anne, his ‘queen of curds and cream’, and had the faithful thrifty old servant in mind when in 1600 he drew the immortal features of Adam and Corin. Whittington left 40*s.* in the hands of Anne, now Mistress Shakespeare (‘wife unto Master William Shakespeare’) for ‘the poor people of Stratford’. Widow Gardner’s sons, her executors, John and William, owed him wages, and he owed them ‘for a quarter of a year’s board’ at Hewlands. We think of him when we read the lines:

I have five hundred crowns,
The thrifty hire I saved under your father: . . .
Take that, and He that doth the ravens feed,
Yea, providently caters for the sparrow,²
Be comfort to my age! . . .
Though I look old, yet I am strong and lusty;

¹ Johanna Hatheway vidua tenet per copiam unum messuagium et duas virgatas terre et dimidium cum pertinenciis per redditum per annum xxxij*s.* iiiij*d.* finem et hariectum (Exchequer Special Commissions, 2351).

² Luke xii. 6 f., 24.

For in my youth I never did apply
 Hot and rebellious liquors in my blood,
 Nor did not with unbashful forehead woo
 The means of weakness and debility;
 Therefore my age is as a lusty winter,
 Frosty but kindly; let me go with you.¹

Or these:

'Sir, I am a true labourer; I earn that I eat, get that I wear, owe no man hate, envy no man's happiness, glad of other men's good, content with my harm, and the greatest of my pride is to see my ewes graze and my lambs suck.'²

Corin, we must remember, was Celia's shepherd.

But to return to 1581. Bartholomew Hathaway married, less than three months after his father's death, Isabella Hancocks of Tredington, on 25 November, and went to live for a year or two at Tysoe, where we find him engaged in farming in April 1583. He returned, however, to Stratford before 14 January 1584, when his daughter Anne was baptized in the parish church. An elder child, Richard, had probably been baptized at Tysoe. Two other children were baptized in Stratford, John in 1586, Edmund in 1590. With his three boys and daughter, who, we must bear in mind, were first cousins of Shakespeare's children, Bartholomew Hathaway probably lived at Hewlands with his step-mother, according to the conditions of his father's testament, in part of the double 'messuage', with his separate 'household'. We find him appraising the goods of a Shottery neighbour, William Sych, with the help of Shottery neighbours, Stephen, Richard and Thomas Burman, in 1586, and again the goods of a Shottery neighbour, Alice Burman, with Shottery men to assist him, in 1608. He came to the front after his step-mother's death, was churchwarden in the years 1605-1609, and purchased in 1610,

¹ *As You Like It*, II. iii. 38 f., 43-5, 47-53.

² *Ib.*, III. ii. 77-81.

for £200, probably with Shakespeare's assistance,¹ his and his sister's old home, Hewlands Farm. Shakespeare's lawyer, Francis Collins, drew up the deed of feoffment, wherein the property is described as 'a messuage and yardland', another 'messuage and yardland', 'a toft and half yardland', and 'three closes, with common of pasture', subject to the old rent to the lord of the manor of 33*s.* 4*d.*²

Bartholomew Hathaway must interest us as the brother-in-law of the Poet and the father of sons who were the Poet's worthy nephews. Richard, the eldest son, a baker in Bridge Street, was elected a member of the Borough Council in 1614, when one at least of John Shakespeare's old colleagues, Alderman Barber of the *Bear*, was alive to welcome him. He was chosen a churchwarden a few days before William Shakespeare's death, and in this capacity, as well as a mourner, he would attend his uncle's funeral in the chancel of the Church on 25 April 1616. He buried his mother, Isabella Hathaway, less than ten months later, on 11 February 1617. We have his signature to his undertaking of the date 9 May 1617 to lend £20 towards the purchase of St. Mary's House from Thomas Greene, on the latter's departure from Stratford after William Shakespeare's death. He was already prosperous, and in the autumn of this year he was elected Chamberlain. Church and Corporation equally commanded his services. He was a witness to the memorable reading-in of the vicar Wilson on 6 June 1619, supported, with his father, a levy for Church repairs on 11 July, and the following year, his father voting for him, was elected a sidesman. His election as an Alderman of the Borough took place on 12 April 1623, to the pleasure, we may believe, of his aunt, Mistress Shakespeare. The old lady died in August of this year, and was buried by

¹ Shakespeare possibly was meditating the purchase of Hewlands in 1598, shortly before Widow Hathaway's death. See Sturley's letter to Quyney, Jan. 1598, *Master Richard Quyny*, p. 124.

² *Outlines*, ii. 190 f.

the side of her illustrious husband in the chancel of the church. Her brother, Bartholomew Hathaway, followed her to the grave, also within the church,¹ fourteen months afterwards (20 October 1624), dying in, and perhaps of, an epidemic at Shottery which carried off Shakespeare's and his wife's old friend, Fulke Sandells (buried 14 October). His will, made three years before, on 16 September 1621 (after the marriage of his youngest son Edmund), is not less welcome than that of his father forty years previously. Its religious preamble confirms our impression of the testator's and his family's 'godliness' :

'I bequeath my soul to the hands of Almighty God my Maker, and by faith in the merits and passion of His Son, Jesus Christ, I believe and hope to be saved; and my body to the earth from whence it came, to be buried in the Christian burial of the parish-church of Old Stratford, hoping to arise at the Latter Day and to receive the reward of His Elect.'

Here is the 'Christian burial' of which the Gravedigger speaks, and with jealous reverence, in *Hamlet*. Not every one was entitled to it, not even the Lord Chamberlain's daughter if there were suspicion of suicide. If the puritan vicar did not inspire this preamble he certainly would have approved of it, as of the pious bequests of 13*s.* 4*d.* to poor parishioners and 10*s.* for the much-needed repair of the church.

Hewlands was to go to the second son and executor, John Hathaway—'all that my messuage or tenement, orchard, garden, and backside with the appurtenances, in Shottery, with two yardland and a half, arable, meadow, common, and pasture, with two closes thereunto belonging'—and the residue of the property, with reservation of £120 to Edmund, a cart and mare and other things to him, including 'one of the bedsteads in the Over Chamber', and gifts to Richard and Anne (who doubtless had received their portions), and their children.

¹ The fee for his interment within the church (6*s.* 8*d.*) was acknowledged in the Churchwardens' Account presented 4 May 1625.

Overseers of the will were Doctor John Hall of New Place and Stephen Burman of Shottery.

The inventory, made by neighbours on 27 October 1624, a week after Bartholomew's funeral, shows us '*the Chamber where he lay*' with 'one joined bedstead' and bedding, a chest and linen wearing apparel and £3 in money; '*the Broad Solar or Chamber*', a storeroom containing cheese, apples, tow, yarn, oatmeal, old boards, 'bottles', butter, lard and tallow, with a 'halfhead bedstead' and bedding, probably for a serving-man, such as Tom Whittington the shepherd¹; '*the Little Chamber*', with a bedstead and a press; '*the Chamber over the Kitchen*', with a spinning-wheel, a hair cloth, two sieves, a strike measure and four strike of malt, 'hurds' and 'odd trumpery'; '*the Buttery*', with two barrels and a powdering-tub (for salting meat); '*the Hall*', or common living-room, wherein are a table, two chairs, two forms, two stools, two cushions, eight pieces of pewter, a brass candlestick, a chafing-dish, a pair of links over the hearth, a pair of bellows, two brass pots and two kettles; '*the Kitchen*', containing a cupboard, a spit, a drip-pan, a baking 'peel' for the oven, two 'loams', two 'kivers', pails, tubs, and 'odd implements'. The '*Barns*' hold 'one bay and more of barley' ('bay' being a roof measurement), estimated to be twenty quarter worth £16, ten strike of wheat valued at £2, pulse and hay worth £8; '*the Backhouses*' a malt-mill and a cheese-press, hemp and flax; '*the Stable*' three horses valued at £8. In '*the Backside*', or farmyard and sheds, are carts, ploughs, harrows, harness and gears, sheppicks and other implements, wood, lumber, and 'trash', and, gathered apparently for the purpose of valuation, six kine and other beasts (worth £8), 37 sheep (£8), 6 swine (£2).²

In addition to these were the possessions already of John Hathaway the heir, his wife Elizabeth (an Edwards of Drayton), and their children.

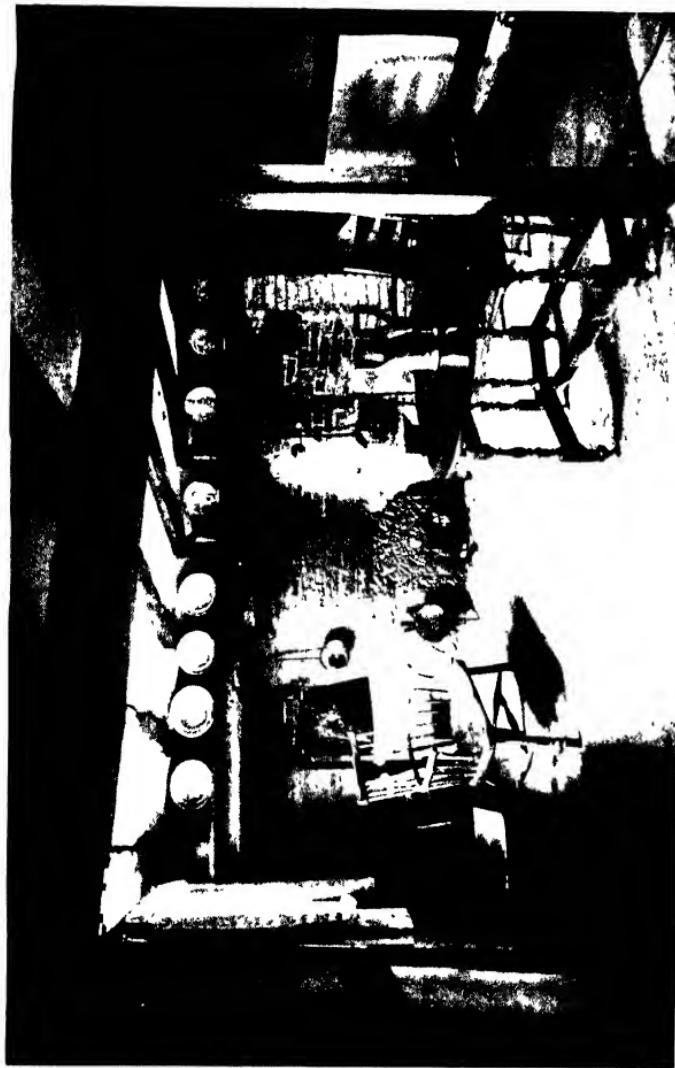
¹ Pp. 9-11.

² *Outlines*, ii. 197 f.



THE 'HALL' (so named in 1581) OR COMMON LIVING-ROOM

Note the old 'settle', the rush-light and holder, and under-box on the table, and the wooden trencher, with hollows for salt in the corner, on the masonry. Observe the useful square cavities in the masonry at the back of the hearth, and the latticed door (inscribed I H E H I B 1687, of a recess for hitches of bacon on the left. On Easter Sunday the fire (wood) was put out and the hearth cleaned for the summer, and decorated with rushes and flowers.



THE KITCHEN (so named in 1624)

Note the oven, with heavy wooden door, the 'peel' for the bread, the 'skillet' or legged saucépan with long handle, the leather 'bottles' the leather 'Jack' on the table. Behind the wide fire-place is a chamber into which the oven extends. A staircase leads from the kitchen into the 'Little Chamber' containing the second-best Bed and the Chamber for 'oddments' beyond.

Richard Hathaway, we will note, in the year of his father's death became host of the *Crown Inn* in Bridge Street. Next year, on Sunday, 20 February 1625, there was a fashionable wedding in the parish church, when his only daughter, Isabella, aged sixteen years and four months, married Richard Walford, aged twenty-three, the eldest son of the late Master Richard Quyney's friend, Willy Walford, a rich woollen draper, and builder of the handsome house now 17 and 18 in High Street,¹ who had lately died (May 1624). Richard Hathaway was Bailiff of the Borough in 1626-7. With his 'cousin', Doctor Hall, he stood by the vicar Wilson when the latter became unpopular.² His initials as an Alderman are on the great bell of the chapel as recast in 1633.³ He lost his son-in-law three or four days before the death of Doctor Hall, in November 1635, when his daughter was left with three young children. He himself died in October 1636, with considerable property—'gentleman'. Like his father he was buried within the church.⁴ His widow, Priscilla *née* Kyrdall,⁵ lived into the Civil War, hostess of the *Crown*, the name of which, before her death in 1651, was significantly changed to *The Woolsack*.⁶

4. SHAKESPEARE'S MARRIAGE

AN inventory is a dead list or a living picture according to the artist in the reader. It fills the simple farmhouse, for those who have a touch of Shakespeare in them, with character and beauty—turns the timber and daub, the gabled thatch-roof and dormer windows, low ceilings of the under-rooms and open rafters of the upper, wide windy hearths and cold stone floors into comfortable, lovable picturesqueness. We can identify, as might Shakespeare, its chambers, however altered, with those of Anne Hathaway's father and brother,

¹ *Shakespeare's Stratford*, p. 33. ² *Ib.*, p. 72 and n. ³ *Ib.*, p. 46.
⁴ According to the direction of his will and his right as an alderman.
⁵ P. 65. ⁶ *Shakespeare's Stratford*, p. 13.

—on the ground floor the *Kitchen* (with its oven), the *Hall* (with its recess by the hearth for flitches of bacon), and at the end of the passage, past larders, the *Buttery*; above, over the *Buttery* the *Solar*, over the passage and larders the *Parlour*¹ (with the best bedstead), over the *Hall* the *Little Chamber* (with its second-best bed), over the *Kitchen* a chamber for 'oddments'. And, with eyes, we may behold it in its rustic setting, of garden and well, orchard, lane and brook, meadows, paths, stiles, hedges, wild flowers, birds. Here is a background for Perdita's 'cottage'. Her 'brother', the Clown, might be on his way across the fields to Master Quyney's shop² when encountered and cozened by that scamp, ready for a sheep-shearing feast, *Autolycus*:

When daffodils begin to peer,
 With heigh! the doxy over the dale,
 Why then comes in the sweet o' the year,
 For the red blood reigns in the winter's pale.

 The lark that tirra-lirra chants,
 With heigh! with heigh! the thrush and the jay,
 Are summer songs for me and my aunts
 While we lie tumbling in the hay.

My traffic is sheets: when the kite builds, look to lesser linen. . . .³
 For the life-to-come, I sleep out the thought of it. A prize, a
 prize! [Enter Clown].

Clown: Let me see: every 'levenwether tod;⁴ every tod yields
 pound and odd shilling; fifteen hundred shorn, what comes the
 wool to? *Autolycus* [aside]: If the springe hold, the cock's mine.⁵

¹ P. 92 n.

² *Shakespeare's Stratford*, p. 34, *Master Richard Quyny*, p. 45.

³ 'The outside of the nest (of a kite) is composed of strong sticks; the lining consisted of small pieces of linen, part of a saddle-girth, a bit of a harvest-glove, part of a straw bonnet, pieces of paper, and a worsted garter' (Hasting, *Ornithology of Shakespeare*, p. 46).

⁴ Yields a tod (28 lb. of wool).

⁵ 'Springes to catch woodcocks' (*Hamlet*, I. iii. 115, v. ii. 317), the easiest of captures.



‘THE PARLOUR’ (1581), WITH ‘STANDARD’ FAMILY BEDSTEAD

The mattress is of rush, stretched on cords passed in-and-out of the wooden frame of the bed. A ‘twilly’, or needlework bed-covering, is spread over it. Note the ‘coffer’ at the bed-foot, and the chest against the wall.

The door leading into another bed-chamber, ‘The Broad Solar’ (1624), has a latch of wood



'THE LITTLE CHAMBER' OVER THE 'HALL' WITH SECOND-BEST BED

*Note the rush-mattress on cords, the curtains, and the coffer. Beyond
is 'The Chamber over the Kitchen' (1624)*

Clown : . . . Three pound of sugar, five pound of currants, rice—what will this sister of mine do with rice? but my father hath made her mistress of the Feast, and she lays it on; she hath made me four-and-twenty nosegays for the shearers, three-man song-men all, and very good ones, but they are most of them means and bases, but one puritan amongst them, and he sings psalms to hornpipes. I must have saffron to colour the warden-pies; mace; dates none, that 's out of my note; nutmegs seven, a race or two of ginger, but that I may beg; four pound of prunes, and as many of raisins o' the sun.¹

Here are dainties from London Town, brought by the carrier, William Greenaway,² or another.

There was more wood then for jays as for turtles;³ but thyme blows yet on Bardon Hill, and in the gardens and meadows are other flowers of Titania's bower:

I know a bank where the wild thyme blows,
Where oxlips and the nodding violet grows,
Quite o'er-canopied with luscious woodbine,
With sweet musk-roses and with eglantine—⁴

eglantine being the sweet-brier, woodbine the honey-suckle, and the oxlip not confused by the Poet with the cowslip or the primrose.⁵ None has given such dignity to simplest cottage-flowers, likening them to his best beloved and puritan heroine, Imogen:

The flower that's like thy face, pale primrose, (and)
The azured harebell like thy veins, (yea, and)
The leaf of eglantine, whom not to slander
Outsweetened not thy breath.⁶

Nor has any invested the humble world of bees and blossom,

¹ *The Winter's Tale*, IV. iii. 1-49.

² See p. 33.

³ *Merry Wives*, III. iii. 44.

⁴ *Mid. N. Dream*, II. i. 249-52.

⁵ He speaks twice of the oxlip, six times of the cowslip, nine times of the primrose (Ellacombe, *Plantlore of Shakespeare*, pp. 192, 64 f., 226).

⁶ *Cymbeline*, IV. ii. 221-4.

owls, bats, and the cowslip, with such freedom and spaciousness and dancing gaiety:

Where the bee sucks there lurk I,
In a cowslip's bell I lie,
There I couch when owls do cry;
On the bat's back I do fly
After summer merrily.

Merrily, merrily shall I live now,
Under the blossom that hangs on the bough.¹

He knew the farmer's hard fight with weather and weeds:

rank fumiter and furrow-weeds,
With burdocks, hemlock, nettles, cuckoo-flowers,
Darnel—²

and the multitudinous duties that fell to the industrious and indispensable housewife, and the homely dowsabel they often made of her. Worthy of the Clown in *The Winter's Tale* is his rubicund mother at the feast, a foil to Perdita:

She was both pantler, butler, cook;
Both dame and servant; welcomed all, served all;
Would sing her song, and dance her turn; now here,
At upper end o' the table, now i' the middle;
On his shoulder, and his; her face o' fire
With labour, and the thing she took to quench it
She would to each one sip.³

But Anne was a 'spirit of another sort'—Perdita's, Celia's, Hermia's kind:

O happy fair!
Your eyes are lode-stars; and your tongue's sweet air
More tuneable than lark to shepherd's ear,
When wheat is green, when hawthorn buds appear.⁴

¹ *The Tempest*, v. i. 88-94. The repetition, 'where the bee sucks there suck I,' is unendurable to the ear and out of character. Sucking suits Bottom (*Mid. N. D.*, iv. i. 10-17) but is alien to Ariel.

² *Lear*, iv. iv. 3-5. Cf. *Henry V*, v. ii. 44-53.

³ iv. iv. 56-62.

⁴ *Mid. N. D.*, i. i. 182-5.

On her father's death, in the autumn of 1581, and her brother's¹ departure to Tysoe, Anne, aged five-and-twenty, and betrothed to young Shakespeare,¹ apparently went to live in Temple Grafton. The following April Shakespeare reached the age of eighteen, when young men, though minors, were thought old enough to manage their affairs and receive their portions: such as his own cousins, Robert and Edward Webbe, at Snitterfield, by the terms of their father's will, of which Alderman Shakespeare was overseer.² On 9 July the will of Anne's father was proved, and about this time she and her betrothed cohabited, as young couples not unfrequently did³ (with Biblical sanction⁴), between the contract which legitimized children and the wedding which entitled to dowry.⁵

¹ The modern legend of a *mésalliance*, turning to hate, is contrary to all historic probability.

² *Outlines*, ii. 407 f.

³ I have given some cases in *Minutes and Accounts*, III, p. liii.

⁴ e.g. Tobias beds Sara on the night of the contract and, with her, prays to God (vii. ii-viii. 9).

⁵ The double ceremony, however, was inconvenient, and led to abuses; and there was a steady change of opinion regarding it in Shakespeare's lifetime and after, in favour either of the Church celebration or the civil contract. Shakespeare's own mind changed. In 1603 he was in sympathy with Claudio in face of Angelo's puritan censure:

She is fast my wife

Save that we do denunciation lack

Of outward order (*Measure for Measure*, I. ii. 151-3).

But in 1611-13, after experience of the indulgence and vice of the Jacobean Court, he took the puritan view, warning Ferdinand on his betrothal with Miranda (and indirectly the Prince Elector, Frederick Palatine with Princess Elizabeth on Sunday 27 Dec. 1612):

If thou dost break her virgin-knot before

All sanctimonious ceremonies may

With full and holy rite be ministered,

No sweet aspersion shall the Heavens let fall

To make this contract grow (*Tempest*, IV. i. 15-19).

A letter to the Vicar of Stratford, Thomas Wilson, in July 1621, will illustrate the danger to the girl in cohabitation between contract and matrimony. It is from John Trueman, the minister of Feckenham beyond Alcester, as follows: 'Good Master Wilson. So it is, that there is a man of your flock, one William Ball, servant to Master Henry

In November she was with child and wanted her dowry. To get married was not easy. Advent was at hand (2 December-12 January) when no marriage could be celebrated without a *special and costly* licence, and on 27 January (Septuagesima) began the similar inhibited season of Lent, which would delay an ordinary wedding with threefold publication of the banns until after 7 April 1583. Young Shakespeare therefore bestirred himself, rode to Worcester with two Shottery friends as sureties, Fulke Sandells and John Richardson, and on Tuesday, 27 November, obtained at the Episcopal registry *a common and uncostly* licence, permitting the ceremony after a single publication of the banns. The requisite 'allegation' of the ages of himself (he was a minor) and his bride, and the consent of their relatives, was taken as satisfactory,¹ and the next day his sureties (witnesses perhaps of the betrothal) signed the usual bond, for £40, relieving the officials of responsibility in the event of lawful 'impediment'—such as pre-contract or consanguinity.² It was now Wednesday. The remaining 'holy day' on which banns could be published was Friday, St. Andrew's Day, 30 November. No doubt the banns were put up on Smith, who has contracted himself to one of my parish, Anne Delves, servant to the Right Worshipful Sir Francis Edgeoke, before sufficient witness; and now understanding that the same Ball hath a purpose to contract himself to another woman, one Mary Watson, contrary to all truth, may it please you to consider the premisses and truly to examine the business, that no proceedings may be before the truth may appear from the said Anne Delves; *for they be man and wife before God and the world although matrimony be not solemnized*, which he, the said William Ball, did intend to perfect before St. James' Day next',— 25 July,— 'and upon the same words, delivered to the same Anne Delves a token, as shall appear by sufficient witness. Thus with my best wishes I end, and rest your brother-in-the-ministry, John Trueman. Feckenham, this — of July 1621.' For Master Henry Smith, see *Shakespeare's Stratford*, pp. 48, 56 and n.

¹ A minor, Shakespeare could not have obtained the licence without his parents' approval, hence the theory of a clandestine marriage is out of the question.

² His father would, no doubt, have stood surety for the £40 had he not been under the shadow of recusancy.

Friday, and the wedding probably followed that day or the next at Temple Grafton.¹ If so, the officiating vicar was John Frith, an old clergyman from Queen Mary's day, 'an old priest and unsound in religion,' in the eyes of a puritan censor; 'he can neither preach, nor read well,'—that is, a homily, more interested in hawks than theology—'his chiefest trade is to cure hawks that are hurt or diseased, for which purpose many do usually repair to him.'² The old fellow, like other parsons we have heard of, may have kept his hawks in the church, converting the tower or other part of the sacred edifice into a 'mews'. Young Shakespeare, whatever the sober Anne might think, would not love him the less on this account. An enthusiastic sportsman, he would enter with delight into the mysteries and triumphs of falcon-surgery.³

Anne's child was born in May, and on Sunday the 31st was escorted to church in Stratford by the youthful father (one month over nineteen), with two godmothers and a godfather, for baptism, after the second lesson (so it was appointed in the Prayer Book), in the presence of an unusually large congregation, it being Trinity Sunday, the Feast Day of the wide-extended parish, and christened after the Scriptural heroine, Susanna.⁴ The mother would follow later for her churhing. In 1585, at Candlemas (2 February), her twins were baptized, named Judith and Hamnet (or Hamlet), probably after the Poet's friends, Hamnet (or Hamlet) Sadler and his wife Judith,

¹ The licence is thus entered in the Episcopal Register at Worcester: *Item eodem die similis emanavit licencia inter Willmum Shaxpere et Annam Whateley de Temple Grafton.* Whateley is a slip, of sight or sound, for Hathwey. In the bond by Sandells and Richardson the bride is 'Anne Hathwey of Stratford', her old friends and neighbours excusably describing her as of their own parish. Such oversights are common enough in the records.

² 'A Survey of the State of the Ministry in Warwickshire,' 1585-6, Morice MSS., Dr. Williams' Library. ³ See pp. 142-5.

⁴ Anything less like shame or hugger-mugger in connexion with the birth of Anne and William Shakespeare's first child can hardly be imagined.

née Staunton, of Longbridge near Warwick. Like her sister, Judith bore a famous Scriptural name. The books of Susanna and Judith were both included in the puritan Geneva Version of the Bible, and Shakespeare in his plays shows considerable acquaintance with them. That his children were brought up on the Bible is testified by the inscription on Susanna's grave,

Wise to salvation was good Mistress Hall.

The writer, Alexander Beane (?), quotes from 2 Timothy iii. 15: 'Thou hast known the Holy Scriptures of a child which are able to make thee *wise unto salvation* through the faith which is in Christ Jesus.'¹

Shakespeare, like Browning (of all English poets the nearest to him in ethical grip and dramatic sense), married a wife considerably older than himself, and apparently he did not regret it. A passage in *Twelfth Night*, sometimes quoted in support of the view that he was disappointed, tells us just the contrary. In drama we estimate the worth of a speech, and the dramatist's own estimate of it, from the character of the speaker. Adam's words are dear to the Poet, however simple, those of Jaques however ornate are offensive. Therefore when a love-sick youth, who never knows his own mind, saying one thing one moment and the opposite the next,² and transfers his affection after every protestation from one object to another,³ a young sentimentalist to whom the Jester remarks 'The tailor make thy doublet of changeable taffeta, for thy mind is a very opal',⁴ declares that in marriage a woman should take

An elder than herself, so wears she to him,
So sways she level in her husband's heart:⁵

we know that it is a commonplace, a rule to which there are golden exceptions. We recall the affectionate little bequest of the 'second-best bed with its furniture'—not at Hewlands but

¹ *Shakespeare's Stratford*, p. 78.

³ From Olivia to Viola.

² II. iv. 33-6 and 96-9.

⁴ II. iv. 76 f.

⁵ 31 f.

New Place, in which the testator lay dying—which he had shared with his wife and wanted her to have when he was gone.¹

Was she disillusioned? Did she mistake his 'sportive blood' (to use his own expression of himself in Sonnet 121), as some moderns do, and detect infidelity in his occasional sonnet indelicacies *entre frères*? Or did she know, as every reader may, his splendid sanity in the fundamental matter of sex?

None has drawn love with such enchanting or terrible truth—as, when allowed to sleep until honourably and glowingly called forth, an invigorating and ennobling passion, otherwise a degrading and desolating madness. Marriage in his eyes is a 'consummation devoutly to be wished', a natural, blissful state of mind and body, which lewd, irreligious love cannot know. Frankly he has spoken, again and again, of the honest joys of 'board and bed'; but they are mixed with faith, enriched by reverence:

Me of my lawful pleasure she restrained
And prayed me oft forbearance, did it with
A pudency so rosy the sweet view on't
Might well have warmed old Saturn.²

Pudency so rosy is the attraction for his youthful heroes as for himself. It is not in Venus, nor in Cressida, nor in Cleopatra, nor in Doll Tearsheet, nor in the Black Mistress (or Mistresses, for this fictitious person is more than one) of the Sonnets: but it is in Juliet, and Portia, and Rosalind, and Miranda, and Perdita, as in Imogen, and a score of beautiful young heroines, who draw their lovers like a magnet, and hold them in proportion as these have the manliness and reverence to love them. The Poet delights in young men and maidens passionate and

¹ Surely only an ass would interpret this bequest as an insult by the Poet to his wife. In similar terms a Snitterfield farmer, William Bracey, in 1557 left all his household stuff to his wife Margery save 'the second-best bed', which he bequeathed with three pairs of sheets to his son John. 'Best', 'second', 'second-best' are common testament terms: pp. 47 f., 56, 122.

² *Cymbeline*, II. v. 9-12.

pure, and young wives and husbands who are brave and true. He is heart and soul with them in their defiance of convention and parental tyranny, their endurance of hardship, their suffering and distress and death, or triumph over wrong. And because he knew the real thing he despised the false. The adulterous and vicious, attractive to an easy-going lecher like Montaigne,¹ in Shakespeare's pages are dramatic foil to love, repulsive and anarchic, spelling upheaval in the home and state; while the moral muddledom and 'concupiscible' complications of modern fiction, have no place in his art. They do not sufficiently interest him to move his pen. Infinitely would he prefer the 'romantic' to the 'scientific', the intuitive love at sight, with its adventure and peril, to a calculated, unchild-like and childless libertinism. 'Happy wedlock',² 'high wedlock',³ 'holy wedlock',⁴ 'blessed marriage',⁵ 'holy marriage'⁶ are not the epithets he would apply to the last, nor would he bestow on it the benediction of Hymen.⁷

5. HATHAWAY COUSINS

THE Hathaways of Hewlands had namesakes in the parish and for a time in Shottery. George Hathaway, with apparently the *alias* Gardner, copyholder for life under the lord of the manor with one Hobbins of a farm in Shottery (a messuage, a toft, and two yardland) in the tenure of Hobbins in 1556, was probably kinsman and may have been brother of Richard Hathaway the father of Shakespeare's wife. He seems to have had three daughters—Philippa, Alice, Frances—and three sons—John, George, Thomas—all born before 25 March 1558, and therefore somewhat older contemporaries, most of them, than Anne Hathaway. Frances and Thomas concern us. Frances married in 1579 David Jones of Stratford. She was

¹ Florio's *Montaigne*, 1603, Morley, pp. 427-57.

² *Merch. of Ven.* v. i. 32.

⁴ *3 Henry VI*, III. iii. 243.

⁶ *Rom. and Jul.* II. iii. 61.

³ *As You L. I.* v. iv. 150.

⁵ *Henry V*, v. ii. 392.

⁷ *As You L. I.* v. iv. 114-21.

his second wife, the first being a sister of Richard Quyney. David Jones is memorable for his superintendence in 1583 of 'a Whitsun Pastime', which gave such pleasure to the Puritan Corporation that they contributed a whole mark (13s. 4d.) to the cost of it.¹ Frances bore a son in 1582 (a few days before Shakespeare's wedding) and died in 1586. Her brother Thomas married Margaret Smith in 1575 and lived in Old Stratford. Richard Hathaway of Hewlands in 1581 left a sheep apiece to his children, Anne (surely god-daughter of Anne Hathaway), aged not quite four years, and Elizabeth, not two years old. Other children were born in 1582 and 1586, Rose and Thomas. In 1600 John Cox, shepherd, left memorial shillings to Anne, Elizabeth, and Rose, and a chilver sheep to Thomas. He may have been in the employment and household of their grandfather, George, as Thomas Whittington, who in 1601 left a memorial shilling to the boy Thomas, had been a loved inmate of Hewlands.

By this time the Hathaway-Hobbins farm had passed (before 1590) to John Earle, and Thomas Hathaway presumably was dead. Trouble overwhelmed the home in Old Stratford. Anne was buried on 5 September 1600 and her widowed mother two days later. In October, Elizabeth ('Elizabeth Gardner') married one Robert Curnock and left the parish. Rose, motherless and alone, aged eighteen, was seduced and bore bastard twins in January 1602, which died within a week. Thomas, a little over fifteen, disappears for nearly a decade.

Then, on 20 March 1611, in Stratford Church was baptized his daughter Alice ('daughter to Thomas Gardner'). At this time or later he was resident at Weston, a village on the Avon, 3½ miles south-west of Stratford, between Welford and Lud-dington. Here, outside Stratford parish, were born to him two sons, Thomas and William. Thomas became a joiner and builder; William succeeded his father as a yeoman in Weston.

¹ Council Book A 112 (Accompt 11 Jan. 1584).

Thomas, born not long before Shakespeare's death, took out his freedom in Stratford on 25 March 1636, paying as a 'stranger', or non-native, the considerable sum of 50s.—of which 20s. was returned to him as an apprentice in the town, 15s. paid to the master and warden of the Joiners' mystery (or company), and 15s. retained by the borough chamberlain. Richard Hathaway of the *Crown* in Stratford died this year. His brothers John and Edmund lived in Shottery, and their sister Anne Edwards lived at Drayton. Thomas, resident in Stratford, within a few yards of New Place, on friendly terms with his kinswomen of the Shakespeare connexion, and serviceable to them in the oversight of their property and other ways, became the leading representative of the family on the spindle side. He married a wife Jane, whose surname unfortunately we do not know. He had three sons, Thomas, William, and John, of whom William, baptized 19 April 1640, may, like his uncle and probable godfather at Weston, have been named after the Poet. Without doubt his daughters Judith, Joan, Elizabeth, and Susanna had for godmothers Shakespeare's younger daughter Mistress Thomas Quyney, his sister Joan Hart, his grand-daughter Elizabeth, wife of Thomas Nash, and his elder daughter Mistress Hall. This conclusion is abundantly confirmed by the affectionate trust reposed in him by the inmates of New Place. In the nuncupative codicil to his will, in or about 4 April 1647, Master Thomas Nash left 'to his mother Mistress Hall £50, to Elizabeth Hathaway £50, to Thomas Hathaway £50, to Judith Hathaway £10, to his uncle and aunt Nash each 20s. to buy them rings, to his cousin Sadler and his wife the same, to his cousin Richard Quyney and his wife the same, to his cousin Thomas Quyney and his wife the same. Elizabeth Hathaway was not three months old, having been baptized in Stratford Church on 10 January, assuredly with Mistress Nash as sponsor. Judith, her sister, eldest daughter of Thomas, was nine years old. Nash died on

4 April and was buried next day in the chancel of the church next to Shakespeare on the south side. Thomas Hathaway lost no time in investing his £50. On 8 April he bought his house in Chapel Street of Master Richard Lane, four doors above New Place. In Easter term Mistress Hall and her daughter, in the resettlement of their property in consequence of Nash's death, appointed 'Thomas Hathaway of Stratford joiner' and 'William Hathaway of Weston-upon-Avon yeoman' trustees 'to enure to the use of the said Susanna Hall for her life, with remainder to the use of the said Elizabeth Nash'.

Thomas evidently was the man on the spot among the women and widows of his Shakespeare kindred. One daughter, indeed, he named after his own line. This was *Rose*, baptized in 1642, when, we may believe, his aunt, Rose Hathaway, stood godmother, who forty years since had lost her poor ill-begotten babes.

Thomas Hathaway died comparatively young in 1655. His daughters received legacies from Elizabeth Nash, now Lady Barnard, by her will of 29 January 1670—Judith £5 a year, Joan the sum of £50 (and her son £30), Rose £40, Elizabeth £40, and Susanna £40. Their mother died an old lady in 1696.

6. NEIGHBOURS OF THE HATHAWAYS

NEIGHBOURS of the Hathaways in Shottery were the Burmans, several families of them, like the Hathaways, farmers and tenants of the manor, who attained in one household at least to 'gentlehood'. Richard Burman, who died in 1558, sat on the Jury of Frankpledge with John Hathaway; and his son, Roger Burman, who died in 1591, must have known Richard Hathaway and his daughter Anne, and the young Shakespeare who came across the fields to court her. He had corn and hay in his barn in 1591 worth £10, 29 'lands' sown with wheat, 18 with peas, 23 sheep (£5), 5 kine, a heifer, and 3 calves (£8), 3 horses, a mare and 2 colts (£8, with

harness). His 'hall' was bright with brass and copper and pewter, including 7 candlesticks, a basin, and that indispensable feature of a well-filled farmhouse-table—parting the family at the upper end from the 'hands' at the lower—a handsome 'Salt'. In his 'chamber' were 4 painted cloths; in the kitchen-roof 5 'flitches' of bacon. So we learn from his inventory made by Stephen Burman and Fulke Sandells.¹ His will was written by Sir William Gilbert *alias* Higgs, 'minister' in Stratford (as distinguished from the 'preacher', the vicar John Bramhall), witnessed by the above Stephen Burman, and 'supervised' by the testator's 'trusty friends' (to each of whom he left a memorial shilling: a silver piece worth about 12s. now), Richard Burman and John Pace.²

Roger's son and heir, Thomas Burman, died in 1608, leaving a daughter, Elizabeth, married to a Richardson, and a son, Thomas, married to a wife Anne, who was a Catholic recusant. Stephen Burman above, who died in 1607, if not a Catholic himself had a Catholic wife, Margaret, who paid her monthly fine for not going to church. Their son, William, a year and a half younger than William Shakespeare, is the rival claimant to a hornbook recently discovered at Hewlands bearing the initials *W.S.* or *W.B.*³ He and his father are the subject of a letter from a leading member of the Stratford Corporation to Richard Quyney in London dated 7 November 1597.⁴ William's younger brother, Stephen Burman junior, married a gentleman's daughter, Mary Kempson of Binton, and became a 'gentleman'. By her he had no family; but his second wife, Elizabeth Tarver, whom he married on 5 June 1616, bore him six children; the first of whom, it is worth observing in the light of what has been said of Shakespeare's first-born, was baptized less than five months

¹ 1 March 1591.

² 15 January 1591. It is at Worcester.

³ For an illustration of it, see *Minutes and Accounts of the Corporation of Stratford*, iii.

⁴ *Misc. Doc. i.* 113.

after their wedding, in Stratford Church on 2 November 1616.¹

Connexions of the Burmans were the Paces. Richard Pace, who leased a farm in Shottery from the Stratford Corporation, died in 1577, leaving a widow Elizabeth, a daughter Margaret, married (in 1563) to Thomas Rogers (the builder in 1596 of the so-called 'Harvard House' in High Street, Stratford), a son Thomas, married (in 1564) to Roger Burman's daughter, Anne (Annes, Agnes), a daughter married to John Richardson, and a son John, married to Anne (Annes, Agnes) Debdale. Here is a little world worth knowing by scholars. The widow of Richard Pace, who survived him ten years, was not on the best of terms with her daughter-in-law, Burman, who in 1584 was a widow with a child, Ursula. Widow Pace, in her will of 11 February of this year (drawn up by Gilbert, 'curate of Stratford', witnessed by Richard and Thomas Burman and the above Thomas Rogers, and supervised by her 'trusty friends Master Rafe Cawdrey and Stephen Burman'), testified:

'I give unto Ursula Pace, my son Thomas' daughter, £6 13s. 4d. at the age of 20 or the day of her marriage, if she decease before such time the sum to remain to her mother Agnes, my daughter-in-law; but if the said Agnes go about to molest, trouble or deny my son John of any part or parcel of my goods or cattels belonging unto him after my decease, the same Ursula and Agnes shall not have any part of the said £6 13s. 4d.'

'I give unto my daughter-in-law Agnes the crop of one yard-land, and one crop of three lands, one of wheat, one of barley, one of peas; . . . the rest unto John my son who I make my full executor.'

It is a case of a double household, like that of the Hathaways at Hewlands, requiring delicate division of property. The wives of Rogers and Richardson had received their portions, but their children were to have a sheep apiece.

¹ Nobody has yet charged them with incontinency.

John Pace was a witness with Richard Burman to Richard Hathaway's will of 1581, with its bequest of £6 13s. 4d. to Shakespeare's future wife. Ursula Pace was evidently not betrothed. John Pace's wife, *née* Debdale, introduces us to a memorable family. She was the daughter of John Debdale of Shottery, husbandman, and Margaret his wife, whose maiden name, unfortunately, we do not know. John and Margaret were staunch Catholics and parents of such. He died in 1591, his widow nearly thirty years afterwards. Her burial is entered in the register thus:

160⁹/₁₀ 'March 13 Margret Debdale, Recusant'.

Her son, Richard, was presented as a recusant in 1592. An elder son, Robert, was executed in 1586, as a Jesuit priest, at Tyburn.

Robert Debdale, born about 1556, was the immediate contemporary in Shottery of Anne and Bartholomew Hathaway, and probably a schoolfellow in Stratford of Richard Quyney and Richard Field, if not of William Shakespeare. Without doubt he came under the influence of the schoolmaster, Simon Hunt, who settled in Stratford in 1571 and, a convert to Catholicism, left for Douay College in 1575, proceeded to Rome, and was admitted to the Society of Jesus on 20 April 1578. Debdale, we may believe, accompanied him. He certainly was in the 'Holy City' about this time, whence on 29 December 1579 he arrived at Rheims with a fellow-student named Kerstell. To Rheims came Edmund Campion and Robert Parsons on 31 May 1580; and dated at Rheims 4 June is the following letter from Debdale to his father and mother at Shottery:

'After most humble and dutiful wise, right wellbeloved parents, I have me commended unto you, desiring of you your daily blessing, trusting in God that you are also in health, with my brothers and sisters.

'The cause of my writing unto you is to let you understand

that I am in health, commanding unto you my especial friend, Master Cottam, who hath been unto me the second half of my life. I cannot sufficiently commend unto you his lovingkindness showed and bestowed upon me. *Wherefore I beseech you to take counsel of him in matters of great weight.*

‘I have sent unto you certain tokens to be divided amongst you: a gilt crucifix and medal unto my Father, and the pair of beads unto my sister Joan; the other pair of beads unto my mother, the silver Roman piece of coin unto my sister Agnes, and the other piece of French coin unto my brother Richard—the two strings of grains to be divided amongst you. I have sent unto my brother, John Pace, the piece of French coin wrapped by itself.

‘Thus briefly I cease to trouble you any further, desiring Almighty God to preserve you in long life and prosperity, and send us a merry meeting. Fare you well! The fourth day of June. From Rheims. Your obedient son

Robert Debdall.’¹

Agnes (or Annes: the names are interchangeable), the eldest sister, had married John Pace on 20 October 1578. The younger sister, Joan, was in her fifteenth year, Richard was in his nineteenth, in June 1580. Master Thomas Cottam, a Lancashire man, was apparently the younger brother of John Cottam, at this time Schoolmaster at Stratford. Both were Oxford graduates, John taking his B.A. in 1566, Thomas (from Brasenose) his B.A. in 1569, his M.A. in 1572. The latter, a Jesuit, left Rheims for England, in the company probably of Campion and Parsons, with Debdale’s letter and ‘tokens’ on 5 June, intending to visit Stratford and Shottery in secret. It was the memorable time of ‘Monsieur’, and the Queen’s diplomatic dalliance with him as her suitor, when Catholic hopes rose high and not a few Jesuit missionaries made their way to England. Parsons and Campion escaped detection, but

¹ *S. P. Dom. Eliz.* clxxix. 4. Catholic Record Society, *English Martyrs*, i. 18 f.

Cottam and Debdale (who followed Cottam from Rheims on 22 June), were taken. Debdale was in the Gatehouse at Westminster on 29 July, Cottam was sent to the Marshalsea in Southwark, then across the Thames to the Tower. Thus neither Cottam (with Debdale's letter and tokens) nor Debdale reached Stratford in 1580. Nor were they in Warwickshire in 1581, when Campion succeeded in paying a visit to Sir William Catesby at Bushwood.¹

In the meantime John Debdale heard of his son's misfortune, and dispatched to him a letter, and something more useful than tokens ('two cheeses, a loaf of bread and five shillings in money'), which were delivered at the Gatehouse on 3 November 1581 by the Stratford carrier, William Greenaway of Henley Street. Campion, seized near Wantage in July 1581, was at that time, suffering horribly but immovable, in the Tower, having been racked for the third time on 31 October. He was tried on 16 November and executed at Tyburn on 1 December, the first of the English Jesuit-martyrs. Cottam followed him on 30 May 1582. Efforts were made to save Debdale, who was discharged by order of the Lord Treasurer Burghley on 20 September 1582.

Debdale, therefore, may have been at home in Shottery at the time of Shakespeare's marriage.

Four years later he was again in the Gatehouse, when many arrests were made in connexion with the Babington conspiracy. Edward Habington, as we shall see, was taken at Hindlip by Sir Thomas Lucy,² with the active assistance of his 'servant' Henry Rogers, the Town Clerk of Stratford. Shakespeare at this time, August 1586, and since his marriage, may have been in the office of Rogers in Wood Street. Feeling was fierce against Mary Queen of Scots and the Jesuits. Debdale was tried as a seminary priest, who had moreover practised exorcism, and was executed. He bore the *alias* Palmer, which may have

¹ P. 76 f.

² P. 118.

been his mother's name. It strikes us, as the not unlikely name of Shakespeare's grandmother, Mistress Robert Arden.¹ Writing from London on 21 December to Aquaviva, Robert Southwell, the Jesuit poet, who had been in Rome with Simon Hunt and Debdale, told of the narrow escapes in England of himself and Henry Garnet, and added:

*Coronam gloriae sane feliciter obtinuerunt Pater Johannes Lous, Dibdallus et Adamus sacerdotes, qui hic constantissime martyrium obierunt.*²

‘The crown of glory has been won with joy by Father John Lous and the priests Debdale and Adam, who met martyrdom here most steadfastly.’

7. GREENAWAY THE CARRIER

LET us pause a moment here. From the heights we will come to earth. Not that William Greenaway the carrier is unworthy of consideration with the young martyr, though his employment was ‘mundane’. He was a neighbour of the Shakespeares, a draper as well as carrier, with two little shops in Middle Row, besides his dwelling in Henley Street with a barn and garden. He married Agnes Barnhurst, perhaps a sister of Alderman Nicholas Barnhurst the draper in Sheep Street, in 1567, when William Shakespeare was not three years old. She died within a twelvemonth, in childbirth; and he married a year afterwards Ursula, daughter of Alderman Rafe Cawdrey. From this father-in-law he inherited in 1588 the lease of the shops in Middle Row. His house in Henley Street was burned down in the Fire of 1594 which spared John Shakespeare's. It was reported ‘new builded’ in 1599, two years before his death. We meet with him and his son in the Quyney correspondence as deliverers of goods in London and Stratford.³ Cheese, brawn, lambskins and conyskins (for 6d.

¹ p. 53 and n.

² Grene, *Collectanea*, ii. 508.

³ *Master Richard Quyny*, pp. 135, 152.

the pack or 2d. a 'kipe'),¹ linseed oil, woollen shirts and hose were among the country products and wares (100 lb. for 3s), conveyed by them to the metropolis, in exchange thence for groceries welcome at a shearing-feast—conveyed not in wagon (still drawn chiefly by oxen) but on pack-horses, which kept 'foot-pace' in single file along highway or 'horseway'² on the alternate routes via Chipping Norton and Banbury. They were accompanied by travellers on horseback, more than content with thirty miles a day if they might have the security of the escort from robbers.³ Wagons were little used for trade and still less for travel—the roads were too soft for the wagons and the wagons too hard for the travellers. Carriers of Warwick and neighbourhood lodged at the *Bell* in Friday Street, Cheapside; ⁴ and here the Greenaways may have had their headquarters: with more comfort than the carriers at the inn in Rochester in *I Henry IV*, II. i.:

1st Carrier. Heigh-ho! An't be not four by the day I'll be hanged: Charles' Wain is over the new chimney, and yet our horse not packed. What, ostler! *Ostler* [within] Anon, anon. *1st Carr.* I prithee, Tom, beat Cut's saddle, put a few flocks in the point; the poor jade is wrung in the withers out of all cess. *2nd Carr.* Peas and beans are as dank here as a dog, and that is the next way to give poor jades the bots; this house is turned upside down since Robin Ostler died. *1st Carr.* Poor fellow! never joyed since the price of oats rose; it was the death of him. *2nd Carr.* I think this be the most villainous house in all London Road for fleas; I am stung like a tench. *1st Carr.* Like a tench! by the mass, there is ne'er a king Christen could be better bit than I have been since the first cock . . . *2nd Carr.* I have a gammon of bacon and two

¹ Court of Record MSS. ii. 30.

² Bridlepath, cf. *Lear*, iv. i. 57 f. *Gloucester* 'Know'st thou the way to Dover? *Edgar* Both stile and gate, horseway and footpath.

³ *I Hen. IV*, II. i. 49–51. *Second Carrier* Come, neighbour Mugs, we'll call up the gentlemen: they will along with company, for they have great charge.

⁴ In 1637 at any rate (*The Carriers' Cosmography*, by John Taylor).

razes of ginger to be delivered as far as Charing Cross. *1st Carr.*
God's body! the turkeys in my pannier are quite starved. What,
ostler! A plague on thee! hast thou never an eye in thy head?
can't not hear?

Shakespeare knew horse-flesh, of carriers as of travelling-players, huntsmen and others. 'If you will choose a horse for portage, that is for the pack or hampers', says Markham; 'choose him that is exceeding strong of body and limbs, but not tall, with a broad back, out ribs, full shoulders and thick withers, for if he be thin in that part you shall hardly keep his back from galling'¹—like poor Cut's. Shakespeare also knew stable talk which was not all foolish. He has given us some stable wisdom.² *A fool in kindness to his horse butters his hay*,³ *a tired mare will plod*,⁴ *an two ride a horse one must ride behind*,⁵ *no better than a horse-drench, remembers his mother no better than an eight-year-old*,⁶ *a mare will bear a man and his horse*,⁷ *a beggar mounted runs his horse to death*,⁸ *the oats have eaten the horses*,⁹ *a fat man a horse-back breaker*,¹⁰ *a whore a ribaudred nag*,¹¹ are the sort of sayings he picked up on his journeys and tours as a player.

8. COCK-CROW

SHAKESPEARE, moreover, was familiar with the crow of the cock, with its use in telling the time for carriers as for soldiers and princes, fairies, evil spirits and the souls of the Christian dead, and with its symbolic significance as the Voice of Christ speaking to the conscience and calling sinners to

¹ *Cheap and Good Husbandry*.

² Madden has collected it, *The Diary of Master William Silence*, pp. 309–13.

³ *Lear*, II. iv. 127.

⁴ *Henry V*, II. i. 26.

⁵ *Much Ado*, III. v. 40.

⁶ *Coriolanus*, II. i. 129, and v. iv. 16 f.

⁷ *Ant. and Cleop.* III. vii. 7–9.

⁸ *3 Hen. VI*, I. iv. 126 f.

⁹ *Tam. of Shrew*, III. ii. 207.

¹⁰ *1 Hen. IV*, II. iv. 268.

¹¹ I suspect 'rig'd' or 'rigald nag', an expression in the Cotswolds for a half-castrated gelding proverbially 'randy', complicated by an explanatory 'bawdy' from the margin.

worship. At night the common clock was the Stars—‘Charles’ Wain over the new chimney’, at four, ‘yond same Star that’s westward from the pole, the bell then beating one’,¹ and so forth; but when these were hidden cock-crow told the three watches of the night—at twelve o’clock, three, and the ‘hour ere day’, according to Tusser:

Experience teacheth, as true as a clock,
How winter night passeth by marking the cock.
Cock croweth at midnight few times above six,
With pause to his neighbour to answer betwix;
At three o’clock thicker; and then, as ye know,
Like ‘all in to matins’, near day they do crow:
At midnight, at three, and an hour ere day,
They utter their language as well as they may.²

Hence Oberon’s bidding to Puck to return ‘ere the first cock-crow’³ (before midnight), the Carrier’s misery at Rochester ‘since the first cock’ (since midnight), Ratcliff’s warning to King Richard at Bosworth:

the early village cock
Hath twice done salutation to the morn⁴

(it is three o’clock), the departure of the Ghost in *Hamlet* back to Purgatory at the crowing of the cock⁵ (at three),⁶ the ‘little touch of Harry in the night’ among his men at Agincourt:

The country cocks do crow, the clocks do toll
And the third hour of drowsy morning name;⁷

Capulet’s fussy energy about the house—

Come stir, stir, stir! the second cock hath crowed;⁸

¹ *Hamlet*, I. i. 38, 39.

² *Five Hundred Points of Good Husbandry*, quoted by Dr. Tannenbaum in an article (to which I am indebted) on ‘Cock Crow in Shakespeare’ in *The Shakespeare Review*, Oct. 1928.

³ *Mid. N. D.* II. i. 267.

⁵ I. i. 139, 147.

⁷ *Hen. V.* Chorus Act. iv.

⁴ *Richard III*, v. iii. 209 f.

⁶ See I. 39.

⁸ *Rom. and Jul.* iv. iv. 3 f.

and the carousing in the Porter's lodge in Macbeth's Castle 'till the second cock', followed by Macduff's knocking at the gate at dawn and the salutation, 'Good morrow, is the King stirring?' ¹

After the Ghost's departure in *Hamlet* the watch converse:

Bernardo. It was about to speak, when the cock crew.

Horatio. And then it started like a guilty thing
Upon a fearful summons. I have heard
The cock, that is the trumpet to the morn,
Doth, with his lofty and shrill-sounding throat,
Awake the god of day; and at his warning,
Whether in sea or fire, in earth or air,
The extravagant and erring spirit ² hies
To his confine.

Marcellus. It faded on the crowing of the cock.
Some say that ever 'gainst that season comes
Wherein our Saviour's birth is celebrated,
The bird of dawning singeth all night long—

as in the old Christmas hymn:

All the night shrill chanticleer,
Day's proclaiming trumpeter,
Claps his wings and loudly cries,
Mortals, mortals, wake, arise! ³

Marcellus continues,

And then, they say, no spirit can walk abroad;
The nights are wholesome, then no planets strike,
No fairy takes nor witch hath power to charm,
So hallowed and so gracious is the time. ⁴

Here is Christian folk-lore, which takes us back to St. Peter's repentance when 'the cock crew'. ⁵ To that sacred story 'the bird of dawning' owes his lofty position in Church art and

¹ *Macbeth*, II. iii. 26 f. 49 f.

² *Extravagans et errans spiritus*, a bit of Shakespeare's Latinity.

³ *Luttrell Ballads*, II. 20.

⁴ *Hamlet*, I. i.

⁵ *Matthew*, xxvi. 74 f.

poetry (as on the pavement of the cathedral at Murano, Bishop Alcock's rebus at Ely and Jesus College, Cambridge, and the Hymns of Prudentius), and in the tower and steeple of the village sanctuary, pointing Heavenward all who would know the weather, priests as well as people:

Gallus vobis praedicat,
Omnes vos audite,
Sacerdotes Domini,
Servi et Levitae,
Ut vobis ad Coelestia
Dicatur *Venite*¹

Prudentius wrote in the fifth century:

- (a) Ales diei nuntius
lucem propinquam praecinit;
nos excitator mentium
iam Christus ad vitam vocat.
- (b) Ferunt vagantes daemonas
laetos tenebris noctium,
gallo canente exterritos
sparsim timere et cedere.
- (c) Hoc esse signum praescii
norunt repromissae spei,
qua nos soporis liberi
speramus adventum Dei.
- (d) Quae vis sit huius alitis
salvator ostendit Petro,
ter antequam gallus canat
sese negandum praedicans.
- (e) Flevit negator denique
ex ore prolapsum nefas,
cum mens maneret innocens
animusque servaret fidem.

¹ Oehringen MS. (c. 1420 A.D.): 'The Cock is preaching to you, give ear all of you, priests of the Lord, servants and Levites, that the word may reach you, *Come up Higher*.' The last line in the Latin is first-rate mimicry of a cock's crow.

(f) Iesum ciamus vocibus
tlenles, precantes, sobrii:
intenta supplicatio
dormire cor mundum vetat.¹

(g) Tu, Christe, somnum dissice,
tu rumpe noctis vincula,
tu solve peccatum vetus
novumque lumen ingere.²

These are seven of the twenty-five stanzas of his *Hymnus ad Galli Cantum*, which was well known in England, as throughout Christendom, in the Middle Ages. Three of the stanzas (a, f, g) are in Queen Elizabeth's *Orarium* 1560, and in English in the Primers of 1559 and 1545, thus:

The bird of day messenger
Croweth, and sheweth that light is near;
Christ, the stirrer of the heart,
Would we should to life convert.
Upon Jesus let us cry,
Weeping, praying soberly;
Devout prayer ment³ with weep
Suffereth no pure heart⁴ to sleep.
Christ, shake off our heavy sleep,
Break the bonds of night so deep,
Our old sins cleanse and scour,
Life and grace into us pour! Amen.

¹ 'The herald bird of day proclaims the dawn, Christ the mind's awakener calls us now to life. Evil spirits, they say, when wandering in the darkness they love, tremble and depart in terror at cock-crow. This they know is the sign of our long promised hope, wherein we look, awakened out of sleep, for the Coming of God. What power is in this bird the Saviour showed to Peter, foretelling ere the cock crew he would deny him thrice. And then he wept at the sin which had fallen from his lips, and his mind preserved its integrity, his soul its faith. With our voices on Jesus let us cry weeping, praying, of a right mind: earnest prayer forbids the pure heart to sleep.'

² 'Thou, Christ, scatter sleep, break thou the chains of night, free thou us from old wickedness, and pour in new light.'

³ Mingled, as in Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, I. ii. 5.

⁴ 1559: 'not our heart.'

Shakespeare as a boy heard these things of the Cock above the leads of the Tower-roof overlooking his school, and he pondered them when a man. In perhaps his loveliest poem, he invites to the lonely nest of the Phoenix the Christian *Gallus*, to summon birds that are chaste, and banishes the pagan *bubo*,¹ attendant on the devil and terrifying to 'the wretch', as Puck says, 'that lies in woe':

Let the Bird of loudest lay,
On the sole Arabian tree
Herauld sadde and trumpet bee,
To whose sound chaste winges obey.
But thou shriking harbinger,
Foule precursor of the fiend,
Augour of the feaver's end,
To this troupe come thou not neere!²

On such profound fancies, infinitely truer than commonplace facts, the Poet was bred.

9. MORE NEIGHBOURS OF THE HATHAWAYS

BUt to return to Shottery. Of the opposite faith to that of the Debdales were the Woodwards of the Manor Farm. Master Richard Woodward, son to James Woodward of Butler's Marston, added very considerably to his inheritance at Marston and Meon by marriage with Frances, daughter of Master Robert Perrott of Stratford, on 4 February 1563.³ He was a man after Perrott's heart, puritan—not to say puritanic—apparently his trusted business-manager. From his marriage until his father-in-law's death in 1589 he received the rent of the house in Church Street leased by Perrott for a vicarage to the Corporation, and then was his much-favoured legatee. He had a large family, which he did not always find amenable to his discipline. His eldest son, Ezechias (a name in favour

¹ Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, v. 550: Ignavus *bubo*, dirum mortalibus omen. See p. 2 and note.

² *Phoenix and Turtle*, ll. 1-8 (Shakespeare spelling).

³ At Marston.

with the godly, as that of the king, also called Hezekiah, who 'did uprightly in the sight of the Lord, took away the high places, and brake the images'),¹ went to Oxford (matriculating from University College in 1583 when his age was 15) ² inherited Luscombe Manor near Snitterfield from his grandfather Perrott in 1589, married, and had a son Ezechias in 1592, but died before November 1597. The eldest daughter, however, Susanna, inherited only displeasure from her grandfather, by her marriage when she was seventeen, against her people's wishes, with the socially inferior Richard Tyler. Her sister, Judith, fared well, financially, by marriage with Master Abraham, with her parents' consent. Young Tyler, a volunteer against the Spaniards in 1588, a friend of Shakespeare, popular in the town, was worth winning—he came out of his disgrace in after-years with flying colours; but Master Abraham (we may do him wrong) suggests a young gentleman who was the butt of the Poet's wit.³ The third daughter, Esther, also married as she should, one Master William Richardson. But younger brothers, John and Richard, excited their father's wrath by misbehaviour that does not seem to have been matrimonial. Richard like Ezechias went to Oxford, matriculating from Balliol in 1596 when his age was seventeen, and taking his B.A. from Exeter in 1599, after admission to the Middle Temple on 25 November 1597. Woodward in his will of 26 February 1601, after a religious preamble not unlike Perrott's in sentiment:⁴

'Considering the frailty of human nature and uncertainty of life in this world . . . I commend my soul into the hands of

¹ 2 Kings, xiii. 3 f.

² *Register*, II. ii. 131.

³ The unsuccessful suitor of sweet Anne Page.

⁴ 'Seeing all men are mortal, and nothing more certain than death, although nothing more uncertain than the hour thereof, I, Robert Perrott, the unprofitable servant of God . . . do willingly and with a free heart render and give again my soul unto the hands of the Lord my God, trusting to be saved by the precious death and passion of His blessed Son Jesus Christ, my only Saviour and Redeemer, and

Almighty God, nothing doubting of my salvation only by the merits, death and passion of Jesus Christ my Saviour and Redeemer, and my body to the earth from whence it came'—left property in Butler's Marston to John on the condition that he 'reform his manners and course of life and prove forwardly and thrifty, and be thought by my executors and overseers worthy to succeed me' (here is the fly in the ointment), and likewise money to Richard provided he alter and change his course of life and be 'deemed a reformed man'.

There is a legacy of £5 a year to 'Richard Tyler, the son of my daughter Susanna, to keep him at School', that is at the University.¹ It is good to know that widow Woodward (Perrott's daughter) made amends. Susanna died in 1611, when her son (the son of Shakespeare's friend) was nineteen and a student of law, 'Richard Tyler junior', in distinction from his father. His grandmother loved him, and before her death in 1620 made over to him two houses in Rother Market in the following terms:

'Frances Woodward in consideration of the natural affection which (she) beareth unto Richard Tyler, being son of Susanna Tyler deceased, daughter of the said Frances, and in regard of the pains and service which (he) hath performed and done in the part and behalf of the said Frances, hath demised unto (him) those two messuages from the day of (her) death for one thousand years, paying therefor one peppercorn at the Feast day of the Birth of our Lord God, and the said Richard Tyler shall quietly and peaceably enjoy the (same) without the interruption of any person claiming by, from, or under the said Frances Woodward.'²

These two houses seem to have been the King's House by my body with a willing mind I give over, commanding it to the earth whereof it came' (P.C.C. 39 Leicester).

¹ Cf. 'Your intent in going back to School at Wittenberg' (*Hamlet*, I. ii. 112 f.).

² The deeds, with Edmund Hathaway's signature, are a recent acquisition at the Birthplace.

Mereside (once William Perrott's tavern, with the mural paintings of Tobias and the Angel) and the house beyond at the corner of Rother Market and Henley (or Hell) Lane.

Nor is this quite the end of the story. When Richard Tyler in 1643 sold the larger house (at the corner of Rother Market and Henley Lane), then subdivided, for £160, the purchaser was a Shottery man, John Cotterell, and a witness to the deed was no less a person than Edmund Hathaway, the youngest son of Bartholomew Hathaway of Hewlands, and nephew therefore of Mistress Shakespeare. Edmund, born in 1590 and six-and-twenty when the Poet died, married in 1622 Margaret Cotterell, sister of the above John. His father, it may be remembered, left him £120. Like his brothers and his father, he served as a churchwarden in the parish church, full for him of sacred and honourable associations, in 1635-6. He died, and was probably buried there, in the New Year 1648.

A word must be said of the Cotterells. One Richard Cotterell died with four of his children in the plague of 1564. Edward Cotterell of Shottery may have been his son, then about eight years old, the age of Anne Hathaway. He married a wife Joan, in or about 1590, who bore him two daughters, of whom Margaret was the younger, and four sons, of whom John was the youngest. We find him assisting Bartholomew Hathaway to make the inventory of Widow Burman on 13 June 1608. He was churchwarden with Richard Hathaway at the time of Shakespeare's funeral, April 1616. Six years later, as we have seen, his daughter married Edmund Hathaway, and in 1638 his son John succeeded, after two years' interval, Edmund Hathaway as the representative of Shottery in the churchwardenship. He died in ripe old age and was buried at Stratford on 2 March 1641. This year his son John, with the assistance of what he left him, and John's wife could contribute, purchased the Rother Street property.

It remains to speak of the signatories of Shakespeare's

marriage bond, John Richardson and Fulke Sandells. They were kinsmen, or became such when John married for his second wife Fulke's sister, Mary(?), again when Fulke acted as godfather (as no doubt he did) to their child baptized 'Fulke' in the parish church on Sunday 27 November 1586, and again, and yet again, when Mary and John Richardson stood sponsors at the christenings of Fulke Sandells' eldest children, Mary on 23 March 1583, and John on 17 March 1585. These family functions would not be a matter of indifference to their grateful friends, William and Anne Shakespeare, whose children were christened in the years 1583 and 1585.

Richardson was probably some ten years older than Sandells, and he died thirty years before him, in 1594, leaving goods and chattels of the substantial value of £87. We see his comfortable little dwelling and its chief contents, with the stock of his farm, in the inventory made by Fulke Sandells, Richard Burman and, among others, Alderman John Gibbs of Rother Street, Stratford.¹ There are benches, chairs and a table in the 'hall'; three double bedsteads, with bedding and linen and painted cloths, in the 'chamber', a large partitioned room; 40 small cheeses and 'a few locks of wool' in the upper chamber or 'solar'; in the kitchen, '5 brass pots, 2 pans, 2 caldrons, one posnet, a skimmer, dripping-pan, pair of pot-hooks, broach, pair of wafer-irons, a gridiron, pot-handles, a tod-stone, and a chaffern, 12 platters, a saucer, one salt, 3 candlesticks, a ewer, a chafing-dish, and 2 pewter pots; in the brewhouse, a 'brewing-lead and malt-mill, 3 lomes, one kiver, 3 barrels, a bolting-hutch, a moulding board, 2 sieves, a strike, a scuttle, 5 dishes, a dozen of trenchers, 5 spoons and an old cupboard'; in the barn, wheat, barley, peas, oats, and hay, valued at £40; in the field, 'wheat sowed' (£5), 'tillage for wheat and barley' (£4); in the yard, stables, sties, and elsewhere, 'one long cart and wain, two tumbrel-beds, an ass-plough and a horse-plough, a pair of

¹ On 4 Nov. 1594.

harrows and one great harrow, one pair of draughts, one yoke, and a tow, with wood and sheep-racks'; 5 kine, 3 heifers, and a bullock (together £10), 4 horses and mares (£2), 6 swine (30s.), 6 store sheep and 10 sheep (£12); 3 geese, a gander, 11 hens and a cock, 2 capons, 4 chickens (in all 6s.). Here are premises, utensils, creatures not unfamiliar to Anne Hathaway and her Poet-lover. Close at hand were fitting terms in which to address the goddess Ceres:

thy rich leas
 Of wheat, rye, barley, vetches, oats and peas;
 Thy turfy mountains where live nibbling sheep¹
 And flat meads thatch'd with stover, them to keep;²
 Thy banks with pionéd and twilléd brims,³
 Which spongy April at thy hest betrims,
 To make cold nymphs chaste crowns; and thy broom-groves,
 Whose shadow the dismissed bachelor loves,
 Being lass-lorn.⁴

But Anne was no 'cold nymph', nor Shakespeare a 'dismissed bachelor lass-lorn'; and in their happiness they could not only refrain from censure but feel for the censured. From deep happiness, without question, sprang the Poet's large charity.

Fulke Sandells, bearing the honoured Christian name of a local magnate, supervisor of Richard Hathaway's will in 1581 and described in it as his 'trusty friend and neighbour', was *agricola* or yeoman, with a leasehold farm consisting of 'one messuage, one barn, one yardland and a half, one close called the Barn Close, one other close known by the name of the Brook Close, in the town and Fields of Shottery'. He had five children, born in the years 1583-92. Mary his eldest child we may associate with Susanna Shakespeare. They were baptized two months of each other, and were probably friends. Mary got into trouble in June 1614, when her age was 31, giving

¹ p. 106.

² Covered with rows of mown coarse hay for winter fodder.

³ p. 50.

* *The Tempest*, iv. i. 60-68.

birth to a child which was pronounced *illegitima* at the christening, born, that is, without 'handfasting' or wedlock. The child, which lived six months, was named *Susanna*. Who did the charitable office of godmother but Susanna Shakespeare, now Mistress Hall, of Hall's Croft near the church, happy in a child of her own, born not quite six years previously, Elizabeth? It is what we should expect of her from the inscription on her tomb—'good Mistress Hall, that wept with all that wept, yet set herself to cheer them up with comforts cordial'. She was trained in the Scriptures, Doctor Hall's wife, her Mother's and Father's daughter.¹

10. BIDFORD AND THE BADGERS

TEMPLE GRAFTON, where Shakespeare almost certainly was married, has lost its old church and register. The village is well worth a visit—a four-mile walk due west from Shottery. More interesting is Bidford-upon-Avon, two miles south-west of Temple Grafton. Here resided a family well-to-do, full of life, closely connected with Stratford, well known to John Shakespeare and doubtless to his son.

Thomas Badger was a miller, like the prosperous John Sadler of Stratford. We meet with him in 1537 as an ally of Squire Clopton in his indictment of the heretical vicar of Hampton Lucy, Edward Large.² In 1545 he purchased Bidford Grange farm, with its tithes, and the three Grange mills. His wife Joan was the daughter and heir of Richard Bromley of Stratford, a glover and senior member of the craft when John Shakespeare was apprenticed to it. Thomas Badger in 1543 was executor and residuary legatee of the wealthy Thomas Atwood tailor and vintner, of High Street, the friend who left John Shakespeare's father, Richard Shakespeare of Snitter-

¹ The writer of the inscription speaks as if the Poet had more 'wit' (intelligence), than 'grace'. He knows him no better than others did in 1648. The 'poor player' had fallen on evil days.

² p. 109.

field,¹ a team of oxen—‘four oxen in his keeping’. Atwood’s bequest, perhaps, enabled him to buy his mills at Bidford. Henry Samuel the woollen-draper, next door to the *Bear Inn* in Bridge Street, was Badger’s godfather, a devout Catholic, who left—besides moneys for altars and masses for his soul, and the souls of his parents and ‘all Christian souls’, for the alms-folk and the poor, the maintenance of the Great Bridge and the bridge beneath the mill, and the mending of the lane by his garden side—gifts to Badger (‘my godson’ 6s. 8d.), his wife Joan (‘my wife’s worsted kirtle, her second tache-hooks of silver, and her second hat’), to ‘every one of his children’ (12d. the memorial silver shilling), and ‘to Mary his daughter’ (‘a heart of black jet, closed in silver, with an image of St. James upon it’).² This was in 1546.

Besides his daughter Mary, Badger had four sons, Thomas, William, Richard, and Edward, before he buried his wife Joan, and married, for his second wife, a daughter of Master George Jennings of Wednesbury. By this wife he had a son George and a daughter Isabel. On George he settled a house in Henley Street in 1565, which was three doors below John Shakespeare’s.

Badger made his will³ on 13 October 1571, and died 7 February following. To Thomas, aged 38, he left the Grange Farm and its tithes, with outbuildings (‘the loft over the stable, the loft over the oxen, the loft over the sheep-house and my cart-house’), 8 oxen with yokes and tows, an iron-bound wain, an iron-bound tumbrel, a great harrow and other things, 60 ewes, 60 wethers, or hogs, his ‘boat on the Avon’, the fishing and ‘aerie of swans going upon the water’. Richard and Edward inherited the mills (three water-mills), the Tayntre Close and ‘mansion-place’ upon the same; William houses and lands in Bidford; Mary, now wife of John Tyrrell, her mother’s best

¹ Snitterfield was on the road from Stratford to Rowington, where Atwood had kinsmen; see pp. 65, 75.

² P. C. C. 6 Alen.

³ P. C. C. 14 Daper.

'tache-hooks' (above), six new silver spoons, 20 sheep, 3 quarter of wheat and rye, 3 quarter of malt and £6 13s. 4d. Richard, moreover, was to receive an 'iron-bound wain' and its team of 'four oxen', bedsteads and bedding, 20 sheep, a chest, a coffer, 2 silver spoons with the Apostle heads, a silver bowl gilt and £13 6s. 8d.; Edward an iron-bound wain and its team of four oxen, the Flanders chest in the new parlour, a coffer, 20 sheep, 2 silver spoons, bedsteads and bedding, and '20 marks' (£13 6s. 8d.); William bedding, a chest in 'the kitchen-chamber', 20 sheep, 3 quarter of wheat, 3 of barley, 2 silver spoons and the second goblet; George 20 sheep, bedding and 'the standing bed with bowed work' in the 'solar', another bedstead, the chest standing in the 'hall' with two lids, 'the red coffer which was his mother's and all the stuff therein', 4 silver spoons in the red coffer, four more silver spoons (two with the Apostle heads and two with the Maiden heads), the best salt-cellar, best cupboard in the parlour', the great brass-pot and another, the best table-board and forms in the parlour, his mother's young filly at Wednesbury, £3 6s. 8d. (the bequest of his grandfather Jennings), £60 more, 'the little coffer which was his mother's and its contents, a candlestick and a wort-pan, and an equal share with Richard and Edward of the new pewter in the chest in the shop'. Of the youngest daughter the testator said:

'I bequeath to Isabel a featherbed &c., a silver spoon with the Maiden head and £30, and I will that Thomas my son shall have the governance of her, and find her meat, drink and clothes and other competent necessaries, and the use¹ of £30 towards keeping the said Isabel.'

Daughters-in-law, the son-in-law (Tyrrell), grandchildren and godchildren have legacies, and friends (like Richard Hill of Wood Street, Stratford), the poor, the upkeep of bridges, are not forgotten. To the sons and their wives and to Richard Jennings is given a 'double-ducat gold-piece' in remembrance.

¹ Interest.

Not the least attractive item in this valuable testament is the bequest 'to Richard Quyney my godson, one angel'. This was the son of Master Adrian Quyney, and friend in after-years, at any rate, of William Shakespeare.

Master Badger, who left 10s. to Bidford Church, was doubtless laid to rest as he desired within the church 'under my stone'. His will was proved on 6 May 1572; on the 13th a commission was issued from Westminster for the *inquisitio post mortem* at Warwick, and on Friday 20 June Master John Shakespeare, deputy-bailiff of Stratford, with his brother-aldermen, George Whateley of Henley Street and Lewis ap Williams of High Street, as men well acquainted with the deceased and his affairs, served on the Jury at Warwick on the summons of the Commissioners.¹ William Badger, still more his brother George, come within our survey. William acted as an arbitrator in a suit by William Burbage of Stratford against Master John Shakespeare. Burbage was the latter's tenant, probably in the west house of the Birthplace in Henley Street. Differences arose possibly in connexion with William Shakespeare's prospective marriage and occupation of part of the premises. At any rate, William Badger, on behalf of Burbage, and Nicholas Barnhurst of Sheep Street, on behalf of Alderman Shakespeare, and a neutral party known to both—John Litton, a minister and 'man of learning',²—met in London in St. Mary-le-Bow Church in Cheapside on Tuesday, 24 July 1582, to settle matters between them. They decided that Master Shakespeare should surrender his agreement and pay back the £7 he had received for the lease. William Badger died in Stratford (when the great bell of the chapel was tolled for his 'passing') in January 1586, and was buried apparently in Bidford. His brother George set up in Stratford as a woollen draper, married a

¹ Chancery *Inq. p. m.*, Ser. II, vol. 162 (170), 14 Eliz.

² Presented to the rectory of Lapworth in 1584 in succession to the 'ruffianly' Baldwin Utting.

Stratford wife, served patriotically as a constable at the time of the Babington plot, and by his ability and public spirit and kinship with the Quynes was admitted, though a Catholic, to the Borough Council in 1592 and made an alderman in 1594. He and Nicholas Barnhurst, Master Shakespeare's friend and fellow puritan-recusant, were rival woollen drapers in Sheep Street, opponents on the Borough Council and antagonists in religion. Their abuse of each other and turbulence at the Council meetings resulted in both being 'expulsed'.¹ Badger's house in Henley Street suffered in the Great Fire of 1595, and Master Shakespeare sold to him a strip of his 'toft' for the rebuilding in 1596-7. Badger continued a prominent townsman and Romanist.

II. LUDDINGTON AND BISHOPTON

MAKING his way up Avon—among willows 'growing aslant' and 'showing their hoar leaves in the glassy stream', the 'trembling reeds', water-lilies and 'vagabond flags' swaying to and fro 'to rot themselves with motion', by 'pionéd and twilléd brims'²—banks, that is, ridged and trenched diagonally like the pattern of a coverlet, frequently in the inventories called a 'twilly'—with sight of a 'dive-dapper' (or dab-chick) 'peering through a wave', the 'doting mallard' (or drake) taking wing and leaving the water in pursuit of its mate,³ or the 'poor hurt fowl' (otherwise a duck) 'creeping into sedges'⁴—from Bidford Grange past Welford and its mill (the scene of the great flood of July 1588, so alarming to old Father Porter, who 'being 109 years of age never knew the Avon so high by a yard and a half'),⁵ and Weston to Luddington, Shakespeare would re-enter Stratford parish. Luddington and

¹ *Master Richard Quyny*, pp. 107, 113-16, 122.

² *Tempest*, IV. i. 64.

³ *Ant. and Cleop.* III. x. 20 f.

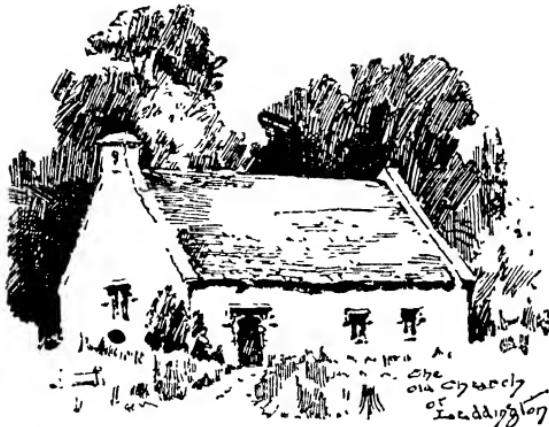
⁴ Not to mention the waterflies playing on the surface. Cf. *Hamlet*, V. ii. 84: 'Dost know this waterfly?' (Hamlet of Osric).

⁵ *Master Richard Quyny*, p. 49 f.



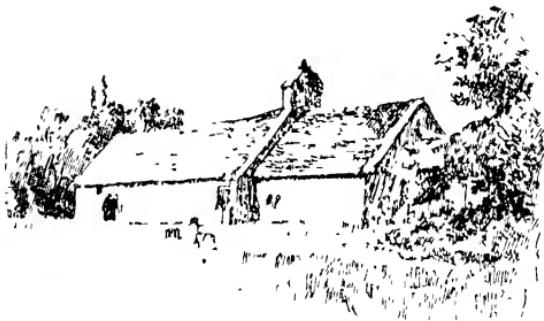
WELFORD MILL

From engraving by Thomas W. Tripp



LUDDINGTON OLD CHAPEL

From engraving by Gerald Moira



BISHOPTON OLD CHAPEL

From engraving by Gerald Moira

Bishopton at opposite ends of the parish (the one on the Avon, the other on high ground, the source of the brook which flows through Shottery) were chapelries of Stratford. Their ministers conducted service on Sundays, with or without sermons, and officiated at marriages and baptisms. Burials were only at the parish church. At Luddington the young minister, Thomas Hunt (not to be confused with the schoolmaster, Simon Hunt) was suspended in 1584 by Whitgift (then Bishop of Worcester) for puritan contumacy. He was probably the Thomas Hunt who matriculated at Oxford from New College on 10 January 1574-5 as a native of Oxfordshire aged eighteen.¹ His suspension was only temporary, and he continued in charge until his death in 1612—two months after the decease of the old curate of Stratford, William Gilbert *alias* Higes. The one and the other must have been familiar to Shakespeare. So too, doubtless, was the minister of Bishopton, John Marshall, student of St. Alban Hall, Oxford, who took his B.A. in 1575, his M.A. in 1577,² married a Stratford wife in or before 1597, and died in 1607, leaving a library of the greatest interest to Shakespeareans.³ It included an *A.B.C.* or 'absey book', a Catechism in English, another in Latin, *Pueriles Sententiae*, Latin grammars, Stockwood's *Quaestiones Grammaticae*, *Accidentia Stanbrigiana*, Nowell's *Catechism* in English and Latin, *Æsop's Fables* in Latin and English, *Acolastus* (the Latin schoolplay of the Prodigal Son) two copies, Virgil in Latin and in English, Terence in two editions, Ovid's 'De Tristibus', Cicero's *Epistolae*, *De Oratore* and *Offices* (in English); the *Colloquia*, *Instructio Grammatica*, *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*, and *Methodus Theologiae* of Erasmus; Luther's 'Servum Arbitrium'; Calvin's *Institutiones*, and sermons and treatises by him—*Sursus*, The Commandments, St. John, Harmony; sermons by Latimer, Henry Smith of Clement Danes, London (silenced by Whitgift),

¹ *Register*, II. ii. 60.

² *Ib.* ii. 40, iii. 52.

³ Inventoried by a scholar, Abraham Sturley.

and others; Old Testament in Latin, New Testament in Latin (Beza), New Testament in Greek, Greek Grammars (Stockwood and Caporius), Udall's Hebrew Grammar, another Hebrew Grammar, commentaries, expositions, books of devotion and consolation (among them two copies of Becon's *Sick Man's Salve*), a work entitled *The Enemy of Security*, an English Concordance, Dictionaries (Capgrave's and Ullett's), and other volumes. More general literature is represented by Roger Ascham's *Schoolmaster*, a work by Lodovicus Vives, Gifford on *Witches* (a book read by Shakespeare), Sir Thomas More's *Apology*, Beverley on English Metre, a book on *Tropes* (*Epitheton Troporum*); and a treatise on the 'Art of Angling', which suggests that the owner, like Shakespeare, enjoyed a quiet day on the Avon.¹ Hunt and Marshall, though ministers of 'chapels', as distinct from the parish church, were scholars, not incompetent like the 'vicar' of a chapelry in *As You Like It*, with the satirical name 'Sir Oliver Martext'.² This feeble person, typical of only too many incumbents in Warwickshire,³ as elsewhere, described as 'dumb', recalls a young minister of Honiley (6m. N.W. of Warwick), who on Tuesday, 24 January 1580-1, at the wedding of William Warner and Mistress Anne Butler, 'could scantily speak', in so much as the bride 'could not hold her from laughing' and the bridegroom 'had much ado to contain himself'.⁴

¹ *Shakespeare's Stratford*, p. 2.

² III. iii. 41-109. Martext is not, as the Cambridge editors tell us (*As You L. I.* pp. 105, 142), a 'Puritan preacher' of doubtful orders, but 'vicar of the next village' (III. iii. 43 f.), an ordained 'priest' and 'good enough' in Audrey's eyes, but not capable in the judgement of Jaques, and consequently 'a most wicked, a most vile' priest in the humour of Touchstone (v. i. 1-6). Nor is Martext's 'Chapel' (III. iii. 67), as some editors have it, a Puritan 'conventicle', but merely a chapel of ease like Bishopston and Luddington.

³ Of 186 resident clergy in Warwickshire 41 only were licensed to preach according to the Puritan Survey of 1586 (Morice MSS., Dr. Williams' Library). Hostess Quickly's 'minister', we are not surprised to hear, was 'Master Dumb' (*2 Hen. IV*, II. iv. 95). ⁴ *Book of John Fisher*, p. 31.

12. WILMCOTE

A MILE from Bishopton was Wilmcote, the home of Shakespeare's mother. The tradition of 'Mary Arden's Cottage' may have this value that it faces the site, on the opposite side of the road, of an ancient and larger building (the foundations of which are visible in a dry summer) which was perhaps Master Robert Arden's 'copyhold' farm.¹

Robert or, as his friends and neighbours called him (a mark of his geniality notwithstanding his social status), 'Robin', Arden belonged to an ancient and leading county family. His grandfather may have been Walter Arden of Park Hall (between Birmingham and Coleshill), and his uncle Sir John Arden, who succeeded Walter at Park Hall. His father, perhaps Sir John's younger brother, was Thomas Arden, 'gentleman' of Wilmcote; and he himself was 'a gentleman of worship', as his son-in-law proudly describes him:² worshipful on the ground of his relatives rather than his wealth. Master Thomas Arden added to his little Wilmcote estate by purchase in 1501 of property at Snitterfield, which he invested in trustees for his child Robert. His wife was probably a Trussell. He lived to serve on the jury of inquisition *post mortem* of Sir Thomas Lucy of Charlecote on 14 October 1525 at Warwick. Robert, it may be, married a Palmer.³ By this wife he had eight daughters, before her death some time previous to 21 April 1548, when he sought for a second wife a well-to-do widow, Agnes Hill *née* Webbe, sister of Alexander Webbe of Bearley. His daughters, with aristocratic blood in their veins, however homely their upbringing, were attractive girls—at least six of them married and two married twice. Four or five had hus-

¹ This was the belief of the late Mr. Richard Savage.

² John Shakespeare, in his application for coat armour in 1576.

³ Part of his Snitterfield property Arden purchased in 1529 of John Palmer. In 1550 he made Adam Palmer of Aston Cantlowe a trustee for his daughters. Was John his brother-in-law and Adam his nephew? See p. 32 f.

bands before 1550. Agnes was wife to John Hewins of Bearley, Joan to Edmund Lambert of Barton-on-the-Heath, Katharine to Thomas Edkins of Newnham near Wilmcote, Margaret to the above Alexander Webbe, and Elizabeth, it seems, to John Scarlett of Newnham, Aston Cantlowe. Agnes was a widow in 1550, and betrothed to a second husband, Thomas Stringer of Bearley. The remaining three daughters, Joyce, Alice and Mary, were still at home. On 17 July 1550, in consequence of his marriage with Widow Hill, who had children of her own growing up, Robert Arden made a settlement of his Snitterfield property, which included 'a messuage in the tenure of one Richard Shakespeare', placing it in the hands of two trustees, Adam Palmer of Aston Cantlowe and Hugh Porter of Snitterfield, for the benefit of himself and his wife for life, afterwards of his daughters Agnes, Joan, Katharine, Margaret, Joyce, and Alice. Elizabeth was otherwise provided for; and Mary, the youngest and favourite child, was to receive her portion by a will subsequently. Alice and Mary lived at Wilmcote with their father and stepmother, and their new brothers and sisters, the young Hills. Joyce disappears—possibly she went to reside with the Ardens of Pedmore, near Stourbridge, and died there in 1557.¹ Alice had differences with her stepmother, as we gather from her father's will of 24 November 1556. Like a good Catholic he bequeathed his soul 'to Almighty God and to our Blessed Lady Saint Mary, and to all the Holy Company of Heaven'. His goods he bestowed thus:

'To my youngest daughter, Mary, all my land in Wilmcote called Asbies,² and the crop upon the ground, sown and tilled as it is, and £6 13s. 4d. of money to be paid or ere my goods be divided . . . to my daughter, Alice, the third part of all my goods moveable and unmoveable in field and town besides that good

¹ Mrs. Stopes, *Shakespeare's Family*, p. 40 f.

² A legal phrase that sticks in Shakespeare's memory: *Mid. N. D.* II. i. 238, III. ii. 398.

she hath of her own at this time . . . to Annes my wife £6 13s. 4d. upon this condition that she shall suffer my daughter Alice quietly to enjoy half my copyhold in Wilmcote during the time of her widowhood; and if she will not suffer my daughter Alice quietly to occupy half with her, then I will that my wife shall have but £3 6s. 8d. and her jointure in Snitterfield; . . . the residue to my other children equally.'¹

He appointed Alice and Mary, not his wife, to the executorship. There is no evidence of disagreement between Mary and her stepmother, who lived at Wilmcote until 1580. On the contrary, she and her husband, John Shakespeare, seem to have been on cordial terms with her family—with her brother, Alexander Webbe, and his children; with her son, John Hill of Bearley; and with her daughter, Mary Hill, who married a gentleman-farmer of Little Alne, Aston Cantlowe, named John Fulwood.

The inventory of Master Arden's goods, made 9 December 1556, gives us the main contents (an inventory rarely gives the whole) of his 'copyhold'—oak furniture, painted-cloths (two in the 'hall', five in the 'chamber', four in the bedrooms over), bedding and linen, copper pans, brass pots and candlesticks, quern, kneading-trough, and other utensils, tools, vessels for milking and brewing, bacon in the roof, wood in the yard, wheat in the barn, carts, ploughs, harrows, eight oxen, two bullocks, seven kine, four weaning calves, four horses, three colts, fifty sheep, nine pigs, poultry and bees—valued at the substantial sum of £77 11s. 10d. Such was the simple industrious home in which William Shakespeare's mother was brought up.

Within easy walking distance were Aston Cantlowe, Little Alne, and Wootton Wawen, in the north-west and north; and Bearley and Snitterfield in the north-east and east. To Wootton we will follow a priest from Stratford who must have been

¹ *Outlines*, ii. 53.

well known to John Shakespeare. 'Sir' Edward Alcock, LL.B. of Cambridge, was appointed Sub-warden of Stratford College in 1545. On the dissolution of the College in 1548 he remained in Stratford as parish priest, residing in Master Perrott's house in Church Street until the appointment of the Romanist, Roger Dyos, as vicar in 1553. He probably held heretical views, but assisted Dyos until King's College (his old College at Cambridge) presented him, on 17 February 1557, to the living of Wootton Wawen. He had hardly settled in his new parish before he died. He signed his will on 12 August, and the inventory of his goods was made in October. He bequeathed forty shillings to a brother; a chest 'in the parlour by the bed-side', two pair of sheets and his best short gown to a sister, together with the bed and its appurtenances, his best gown, his 'bill' and camlet jacket, and a *skull*. The last was a *memento mori*. To a brother priest he left his 'black gown faced with worsted', his 'best sarcent tippet', his 'cap' and 'pair of portuis' or breviary; and to neighbours in Church Street, Stratford, Thomas and Margery Mountford, a cow, and to their child (who may have been his godchild) household stuff, including linen and bedding, his best chest and all his painted-cloths. Residuary legatee was Francis Harbage of the *Bear Inn*, Stratford (Barber's predecessor: Barber married his widow and succeeded to the house), who received, among other things, a horse valued at £2, a ewe and lamb worth 2s. 4d., forty books (unfortunately not catalogued nor priced), and 'a limbeck and a stillitory'. A 'limbeck' is an alembic, a retort, as in *Macbeth*, I. vii. 63-7:

His two chamberlains
Will I with wine and wassail so convince
That memory, the warden of the brain,
Shall be a fume, and the receipt of reason
A limbeck only;

And in Sonnet 119:

Siren tears

Distill'd from limbecks foul as hell within.

A 'stillitory' is a still, as in *Venus and Adonis*, 443 f.:

For from the still'tory of thy face excelling
Comes breath perfumed.

We must note in passing Shakespeare's association of spirits with unreason and crime, and with a harlot's praise. 'His reverence' evidently distilled his own 'strong-waters', not to be purchased at the *Bear*. The *summa totalis* of his inventory (made by Richard Symons, the Town Clerk) was £18 3s. 4d., exclusive of the books.

Father Alcock was buried, according to his will, 'in the chancel of Wootten Wawen'. Master Arden no doubt was buried in Aston Cantlowe Church in November 1556; and here, we may believe, his daughter Mary married John Shakespeare in the spring or early summer following.¹ At Little Alne, between Wootten Wawen and Aston Cantlowe, lived John Fulwood, and at Newnham, between Aston Cantlowe and Bearley, was the home of the Scarletts. At Newnham, or near it, lived the Edkins, at Bearley the Webbes, the Hewins, and the Stringers. The clan, therefore, were thick on the ground, and far more clannish, however jealous, than kinsmen by marriage to-day. We have glimpses of some of these farms in the Corn Inquiry of 1595. John Fulwood's household consisted in that year of seventeen persons—some six sons and servants included. He had 'in hard corn 20 quarter, barley 32 quarter, peas 30 quarter, and to sow 60 acres, in peas 50 acres'. Of the sons, Avery settled in Stratford, Thomas lived

¹ John Shakespeare was fined on 2 June 1557 for failure to attend as taster three consecutive sittings of the Stratford Court of Record. This is so unlike an aspirant to Borough honours, and what we know of John Shakespeare's character, that we suspect he was engaged in private and matrimonial matters.

to 'compound' for declining a Charles I coronation knighthood in 1625: as did Shakespeare's son-in-law, Doctor Hall of New Place. John Scarlett in 1595 had 'hard corn 6 quarter, barley 14, peas 17', had sowed 'of barley 40 acres and 40 of peas', and was 'in household fourteen persons'. Thomas Edkins had in 'hard corn 6 quarter, barley 2, peas 10,' had sowed 'in acres of barley 16 and in peas 10, and was in people six'; and his son, Thomas, had 'in hard corn 6 quarter, barley 14, peas 10', had sowed '16 acres of barley, 10 of peas', 'and was in household seven'. Shakespeare, therefore, did not lack country cousins, nor knowledge of their life, man and woman, youth and maiden, serving men and maids, 'country copulatives', 'country manners', 'country footing', 'country proverbs', rustic fairy-lore and superstition, wisdom, sport, and revelry. Material for *A Midsummer Night's Dream* was at his hand from boyhood. Puck's speech v. 1. 378-97 takes us into the kitchen of any one of half-a-dozen farmhouses where he was welcome and had spent the night. The lion and wolf belong to Fairyland, but the rest is pure youthful experience, dear to him, a part of his very religion. We will read it in Shakespeare spelling:

Nowe the hungrye Lyon rores,
 And the Wolfe behowles the moone;
 Whilst the heavie ploughman snores,
 All with wearie taske fordoone;
 Nowe the wasted brandes doe glowe,
 Whilst the scriech-owle, scrieching lowde,
 Puts the wretch that lies in woe
 In remembraunce of a shrowde.
 Nowe it is the time of nighte
 That the graves, all gaping wide,
 Everie one lets foorth his sprighte,
 In the Church-way pathes to glide:
 And wee fairies, that doe runne
 By the triple Hecate's teame,
 From the presence of the Sunne,

Followinge darknesse like a dreame,
 Nowe are frolique: not a Mouse
 Shall disturbe this hallow'd house;
 I am sent with broome before
 To sweep the dust behinde the dore.¹

‘Hecate’ is a bit of his school-days, from his loved Ovid—*Triceps Hecate, diva triforis*, by whose aid Medea, under the moon, bids ghosts come forth from their tombs, *manesque exire sepulchris*.² ‘The iron tongue of midnight hath told twelve’,—it is ‘first cock’; and evil spirits (like ‘the foul fiend Flibbertigibbet’, which roams, as Edgar tells us in *King Lear*, from curfew until ‘first cock’, giving the web and the pin, squinting the eye and making the hare-lip, mildewing the white wheat and otherwise hurting ‘the poor creature of earth’)³ have now ‘walked’—decamped, that is, to Hell; and Christian souls come forth, the ghosts of men, to wander in their old haunts on earth, until the ‘second cock’ (at three),⁴ and with them ‘Hecate’s team’⁵ and frolicsome fairies, Oberon, Titania, Puck, and the rest, which sport and make innocent mischief among mortals until ‘the break of day’, when they vanish in the skirts of the Darkness,⁶ ‘following’ it, as the Poet knew, ‘round the world’.

We will not overlook the significant expression, from the language of Religion:

‘this hallow’d house’.

¹ Left by a sluttish maid.

² *Metamorphoses*, vii. 94, 177, 206.

³ III. iv. 120–124. See Tannenbaum (above).

⁴ p. 36 f.

⁵ Shakespeare as a rule (not always) treats Ovid’s gods and goddesses as of the nature of fairies.

⁶ They have time to rejoice in the sunrise. Oberon, ‘King of Shadows’ Ovid’s *Dominus umbrarum* (*Met.* x. 16), has often sported with Aurora’s favourite Cephalus, and like a forester trod the groves till the eastern gate all fiery red has turned into gold the salt green streams (*Met.* vii. 700 ff., *Mid. N. D.* III. ii. 389–393).

There was not a little of God's House in Shakespeare's conception of the Warwickshire farm.¹

13. HENLEY-IN-ARDEN

Two miles north-west of Wootton and within Wootton parish, and eight miles from Stratford, the destination of Henley Street, was Henley-in-Arden, a market town with close associations and affinities with Shakespeare's native place. It was the home of Whateleys, Kirbys, Wheelers, Barnhursts, Bakers, Kyrdalls, Slyss, Heminges, and other families which had representatives in Stratford. Here were born Alderman George Whateley, the woollen draper and neighbour of the Shakespeares in Henley Street; Alderman Nicholas Barnhurst, John Shakespeare's fellow in recusancy; Daniel Baker, the uncompromising puritan leader, and enemy in 1602 of travelling players; and probably that humbler worthy, John Heminge, who was elected beadle of Stratford, and kept a little shop in the base of the Chapel Tower, wherein he was forbidden to light a fire. The Heminges of Henley were numerous and prominent, and not unlikely kinsmen of Master George Heminge of Droitwich, some sixteen miles from Henley, whose son John was Shakespeare's fellow-player.² John Heminges of three generations served on the Jury of the Court Leet of Henley in Shakespeare's time. The second, a tailor, was Bailiff of the town in 1605-6 and again in 1617-18. In the latter year of office his son and namesake, a tanner, was *subballivus*. They were considerable owners of property. In 1606 John Heminge the tailor, Daniel Heminge baker, who had been Bailiff in 1601-2, William Heminge, Thomas Hem-

¹ It is sometimes said that 'Shakespeare was not a Christian'. It depends on what we mean by a Christian. He was of the broad kind that the future will probably commend, with the Lord's Prayer as its central symbol rather than a creed. See *Modern Churchman*, May 1929.

² Chambers, *Elizabethan Stage*, ii. 321.

inge and Hugh Heminge were all on the list of freeholders of the manor.¹

Henley had a vicar who was a scholar and a preacher, John Mascall. He was appointed by his Fellows of King's College, Cambridge, in 1580 vicar of Wootton Wawen, and he had charge of Henley and Ullenhall with the assistance of curates. Complaint, however, was made in 1586 that he was 'grown idle, negligent and slothful', was 'of defamed and tainted life', and had a 'hireling' of suspect religion, who 'upon rumour of a change in religion in Monsieur's days did shave his beard'.² So reported the puritan 'surveyor' of Warwick or Haseley, with information doubtless from parishioners.³

Evidence that Henley men were of the religious and political complexion of their Stratford neighbours is their persistent disregard of the Statute of Caps. This protectionist ordinance, intended to encourage a declining industry, enacted that every person (male and female) above seven years of age should wear on Sundays and other holy-days a cap of wool, knit, made, thickened, and dressed in England by some of the craft of Cappers, under forfeiture of $\frac{3}{4}d.$ for every day's neglect: save maids (maidens), ladies and gentlewomen; and lords, knights, and gentlemen of twenty marks *per annum* from land, and such as had 'borne office of worship' in any city, town, or place, and the wardens of the London Companies. It was resented especially by the ultra-protestant as an interference with his religious and economic freedom, and as emphasizing social distinctions. Tenants of Henley manor were fined 6s. 10d. in 1592.⁴ Four years later the Jurators presented 'the whole inhabitants of this liberty for breaking the statute in not wearing

¹ *Records of Henley in Arden*, Wellstood, 59–64, 85–7.

² The exciting time of the Queen's negotiations of marriage with the French prince le Duc d'Alençon, in 1580–1. See *Minutes & Accounts*, III. xxxvi–xl.

³ 'A Survey of the Ministry in Warwickshire,' Morice MSS.

⁴ *Records*, p. 33.

of caps'.¹ Shakespeare doubtless heard something in Henley Street of this vexatious enactment. His cousin, Thomas Greene, was fined for breaking it in 1586 at Warwick.² 'Better wits', says Rosaline, of the frivolous Frenchmen in *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. 2. 281, 'have worn plain Statute-caps'. In Henley, moreover, Catholic recusants were few. We hear of just three—John Symonds and his wife and 'one Sir Robert Whateley, 'an old massing priest, resorting often thither but hardly to be found'. Symonds, after imprisonment in Warwick Gaol from 20 September to 4 October 1592, was 'remitted to the liberty of his own house upon his promise to confer with a godly and learned minister'.³ Sir Robert Whateley, formerly vicar of Evesham, was brother of Alderman George Whateley of Stratford, who bequeathed to him an annuity left him by their father.⁴ Alderman Whateley, it may be remembered endowed the scheme of a free school in Henley for teaching reading, writing and arithmetic in 1586.⁵ He was supported by Fulke Bellers, a tanner of Henley. Bellers, who married Alice Tolley of Bengeworth, Evesham, left her on his death in 1588 £100 in money, together with half his household stuff and 'convenient house-room for herself and four servants' in his dwelling-house in Henley. He left the like sum apiece to his three daughters and two younger sons, with a tenement in Henley for one of these sons and a farm at Bengeworth for

¹ *Records*, p. 46.

² *The Book of John Fisher, Kemp*, p. 155.

³ Second Certificate, *S. P. Dom. Eliz.* ccxliii. 76.

⁴ See Master George Whateley's will, 1 June 1593: 'I will that the annuity and the third part of four marks which is due unto my brother Robert Whateley, clerk, during his natural life, as by the last will of my father, John Whateley, as also by his deed of annuity to him and my late brother John Whateley clerk, deceased, appeareth, shall be paid unto him' (Worcester Wills, 1593, no. 85).

⁵ *Shakespeare's Stratford*, p. 15. There is an item in his will respecting this charity: 'I do will that the annual rent of 20s. issuing out of my lands which late were of the Gild of Henley be yearly paid, according to my gift of feoffment late made to certain persons in Henley, to the use of the poor there.'

the other, and made a third son, his eldest, John, residuary legatee and executor. He was a man of standing, and apparently neutral religious convictions, counting among his good friends Master William Skinner, the Catholic lord of the manor of Rowington, and Master Jeffereys the lawyer and puritan town clerk of Stratford. Of his many bequests the most memorable is the item :

‘I give to the Town of Henley ten pounds towards the obtaining of a Free School in Henley.’¹

In Henley, as in Stratford, by-laws were passed against the *later* drama. It was enacted in 1609, and again in 1610, that ‘neither Master Bailiff nor other inhabitant shall license or give leave to any players to play within the Town Hall upon pain to forfeit for every default 40s.’² Nevertheless, as in Stratford, exception was made. A company of players performed in the town in 1615—evidently producing something of an edifying character.³

It was in Henley that John Shakespeare’s antagonist-at-law,⁴ Master Nicholas Lane of Bridgetown, fell foul of one Francis Jackman, and inflicted such injury upon him with ‘a crab-tree cudgel that his life was despaired of’. For this assault he was fined 6s. 8d. on 11 October 1592.⁵ The Whateleys of Henley owed him money—John, Richard, William, and Robert. John’s debt was £100 in 1595.⁶ A pleasanter link between the two

¹ P. C. C. 52 Rutland.

² *Records*, pp. 74, 76.

³ *Ib.*, p. xx. n.

⁴ *Shakespeare’s Stratford*, p. 30.

⁵ *Records*, p. 33: Et insuper juratores predicti presentant quod quidam Nic. Layne alias Lane de Burgo de Stretforde super Avonam fecit affraiam infra jurisdictionem huius Curie super quendam ffranciscum Jackeman et ipsum ffranciscum verberavit, vulneravit et maletractavit cum baculo vocato *a crabtrey cowgell*, ita quod de vita eius disperabatur. Ideo ipse est in misericordia vjs viijd.—Shakespeare knew the qualities of such a weapon. ‘Fetch me a dozen crab-tree staves and strong ones . . . As much as one sound cudgel of four foot (you see the poor remainder) could distribute, I made no spare, sir’ (*Hen. VIII*, v. iv. 7 f., 19–21). See pp. 148 f.

⁶ See Lane’s will, P. C. C. 69 Scott.

towns is the settlement in Henley of William Quyney, son of Master Richard Quyney of Stratford, and godson perhaps of William Shakespeare.¹ William Quyney, like his father and grandfather in Stratford, served in a public and honourable capacity—as Taster in 1622–3, Constable in 1627–8, one of the Twelve Men in 1629, and probably, in his turn (the records are defective), Bailiff.²

A feature of Henley must not be overlooked. If its parks were no longer empaled for deer (and therefore not marked in the map of 1603),³ the little town was still 'in Arden'—within the great Forest dear to Shakespeare for its name and romantic beauty and solitude, and only connected with larger neighbouring towns (Stratford, Birmingham, Coventry, Warwick) by woodland tracks never far from the haunt of bird or beast. The 'great' and 'little' park of Henley provided 'agister' for horses, being 'in the King's hands for his great studs', otherwise the royal mares and foals, in and before 1547. The great park in that year realized £4, the little park £6, in 'egistaments' (*agistamenta*) or rights of pasturage, which sum of £10 was paid to the representative of the Crown.⁴ Horses were more important than deer, traffic and military service than hunting. Hence the statutes of King Henry VIII (1536 and 1542) to promote 'the generation and breeding of good and swift and strong horses', mares of thirteen hands, horses of fifteen.⁵ Hence, too, Blundeville's book, *The Four Chiefest Offices of Horsemanship* (1566), with a dedication to Lord Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, Master of the Queen's Horse, wherein the author appealed to noblemen and gentlemen having parks or ground empaled that these 'might not wholly be employed to the keeping of deer (which is altogether a pleasure without profit), but partly to the necessary breeding of horses for service'.⁶

¹ *Master Richard Quyny*, pp. 53, 144, 202.

² *Records*, pp. 95, 99, 104, 110.

³ p. 135.

⁴ *Monastic Estates*, Bickley and Carter (Dugdale Society), p. 160.

⁵ Madden, *The Diary*, p. 263.

⁶ *Ib.*, p. 264.

In 1581 the little park of Henley was 'employed' for this use, and the great park (probably then as in 1614 'the common park') pastured horses.¹ For breaking into the latter and taking thence a mare, in 1614, a culprit (engaged for that purpose) brought upon Robert Kyrdall the fine of 5s.² Kyrdall, a freeholder of Henley in 1606,³ was probably the kinsman of Priscilla Kyrdall, who married in 1607 at Stratford Mistress Shakespeare's nephew, Richard Hathaway.

14. ROWINGTON

FURTHER afield, four miles north-west of Henley and six north of Snitterfield, was Rowington, a Catholic stronghold and the scene of much conflict, religious and economic. Leading landowners, the Oldenalls and Skinners, and influential if lesser inhabitants, Griswolds, Atwoods, Cowpers, Saunderses, were Catholics; and just outside the parish was Bushwood, the residence of the powerful Romanist, Sir William Catesby, the refuge of Jesuits, the home, until his marriage, of Sir William's son, Robert Catesby, conspirator in Gunpowder Plot. Chief in opposition to these local powers, territorial and creedal, were the Shakespeares, free tenants and Protestants, supported by gentlemen in the surrounding parishes, Robert Burgoyn of Wroxall and Job Throgmorton of Haseley, both Protestant extremists.⁴

Warwickshire Shakespeares, so far as we can trace them, point to consanguinity in the neighbourhood of Rowington, Wroxall, Balsall, and Knowle. Thence, without doubt, in 1485 the Poet's great-great-grandfather (as he claimed in 1599 in his application to the College of Arms), and other 'antecessors' (to use his phrase in the previous application of 1597), championed

¹ *Records of Henley*, Wellstood, pp. 22-4.

² *Ib.*, p. 79.

³ *Ib.*, p. 63. On the same list are three more Kerdalls (Kerdoles), Edward, Thomas, and Roger senior. Robert's name is erased, as if one of these (his father) represented the property.

⁴ pp. 68, 72 f., 77 f., 117.

the cause of Harry Richmond against the tyrant Crookback, and at Bosworth Field (the subject of a great and noble scene of the old morality type in his *Richard the Third*),¹ won reputation and grants of 'lands and tenements' for 'their valiant and faithful service'.² Valour and fidelity in what they had a mind to, whether war, industry, law, religion, politics, or drama, are characteristics of the clan wherever we really know them.

Prioress of Wroxall, for whose soul prayers of the Gild of Knowle were asked in 1504, was Dame Isabella Shakespeare. We think at once of the saintly Isabella in *Measure for Measure*. Was this lady a tradition in the Poet's family? Sub-Prioress from 1525 until shortly before the dissolution of the house in 1537 was another lady Shakespeare, Dame Joan, who was elected a member of the Gild of Knowle in 1526, retired without pension to Haseley, and died there an old lady in 1571. Members of the same Gild were Richard Shakespeare and his wife, Margery, of Wroxall (elected 1464), Thomas Shakespeare and his wife, Alice, of Balsall (elected 1486), and later three Shakespeares of the neighbourhood, Richard, William, and John, who, with their wives, Alice and Agnes and Joan, were elected the same year as Dame Joan. Also elected was Agnes Shakespeare, sister to Richard, with her husband, Richard Woodham.

Now, this Richard Shakespeare was probably the Bailiff of Wroxall Priory under Dame Joan, who retired from his post on or before the date of his successor's appointment, 4 January 1535. He and Dame Joan, therefore, withdrew at or about the same time; and we follow both to Haseley, where he and his brother-in-law, Woodham, had taken a farm jointly under the Prioress, Dame Isabella's successor, Dame Joyce Brome, in 1524: a farm late in the tenure of John Shakespeare, presumably Richard's father, consisting of a messuage or toft, three crofts, and a grove, and rented at 8s. per annum. As a 'toft' is

¹ v. iii-v.

² *Outlines*, ii. 56, 61.

a tenement in a decayed condition, we may assume that the new tenants rebuilt it or had their dwelling elsewhere. They were under bond to 'eradicate and extirpate all briars, brambles, and thorns, and all underwood, except in the grove aforesaid, keep the hedgerows defensive, and the land purged for arable or pasture'. Trees for timber belonged to the Priory, the tenants taking lop and bark and somewhat more—as in Shakespeare's lines, which show his knowledge of forestry and conception of the growth of a tree, the air drinking the sap:

We take

From every tree, lop, bark, and part o' the timber;
And though we leave it with a root, thus hack'd,
The air will drink the sap.¹

That we are on the track of the Poet's relatives is perhaps confirmed by the presence of Greenes among the fellow-tenants of the Shakespeares of the Priory. To John Greene of Burton-upon-Dunsmore, his wife Margaret and son John, was leased by the Prioress, Dame Agnes Little, in 1531, a virgate of land, a virgate of meadow, and a leasow, with the same reservation as to timber, for 20s. per annum. This property was ten miles from Warwick, where we find Greenes kinsmen of the Poet. Greene is a common name and Shakespeare by no means rare, but the families were certainly inter-married at Warwick as subsequently at Stratford. Thomas Shakespeare, shoemaker of Warwick, had land in Balsall, and may have been grandson of Thomas of Balsall, admitted to the Gild of Knowle in 1486 and dead in 1511.² We find him with the Poet's father on the jury of inquisition of Master Badger at Warwick in 1572.³ He made his will on 20 May 1573, leaving his business to his eldest son, William Shakespeare—who was drowned bathing in the Avon on 6 July 1579 (when his namesake at Stratford was in his sixteenth year). His second son, Thomas,

¹ *Hen. VIII*, i. ii. 95–8.

² *Records of Rowington*, Ryland, i. 213, 215.

³ pp. 49 f

prospered as a butcher in Warwick. The third son, John, succeeded his brother as shoemaker, removed after his wife's death to Stratford, then took for his second wife the widow of Thomas Roberts of Bridge Street, corviser, and inherited his business, in 1584, made some mark in the town, and was known as 'John Shakespeare corviser' and 'junior' to distinguish him from Master Shakespeare, alderman and glover, had children by a third wife, and about 1594 returned to Warwick, where he died in 1624.

John and Thomas Greene of Warwick were cousins, both 'Master Greene', the one host of the *Crown Inn*, with apparently a brother, Thomas Greene *alias* Shakespeare, who died at Stratford in 1590; the other a mercer in the High Pavement, near the *Crown*, with a brother John at Tanworth, and two sons, Thomas and John, who became lawyers, and resided at Stratford, the former for some years with his cousin the Poet at New Place. The Greenes were on the left wing of Protestantism, allies of Job Throgmorton of Haseley, the friend of Cartwright, and chief author probably of *Martin Marprelate*.¹

Rowington Shakespeares were connected with Wroxall and Knowle. John Shakespeare, a tenant of the Prioress Isabella, and probably a relative of the Bailiff Richard, lived at the Hill in Rowington in 1523, when he was assessed on £7 goods, and died before 1530, when his widow Eleanor married one Cox. She was his second wife, by whom he left a son, Anthony. By his first wife he left a son, John, yeoman, and a son, Richard, weaver. The brothers, John and Richard, and their half-brother, Anthony, interest us through their children.

John, yeoman, who died in 1546, left a son, *John*, whom we will call John Shakespeare the third of Rowington, and a son (by a second wife) *Thomas*, who was a weaver. Richard, weaver, who died in 1561, by his wife Alice, a sister of John Reeve, left a son, *Richard*, who was a weaver. These three

¹ pp. 65, 72 f., 74, 78 f.

Shakespeares were stalwarts in the battle with landlordism, which in Rowington was a battle also with 'popery'.

Master William Skinner, son of Anthony Skinner, esquire of Shelfield Lodge and Park, married the daughter of the wealthy John Oldenhall, gentleman, holder under the Crown of Rowington manor and park, and by inheritance and purchase he acquired the lordship. Landlords were not popular after the pillage of the monasteries and the scramble for land which followed, no longer as the means of 'worship' and regard but as a 'commodity' in the making or, more frequently, getting of wealth. Latimer, Bernher and Becon, all three much in Warwickshire, were fierce in their denunciation of the new 'gentleman', the first in his sermon before King Edward on 'restitution' in March 1549,¹ Bernher in his Epistle to Latimer's *Sermons* 1562, Becon in his popular writings—as in *The Fortress of the Faithful*, written in the autumn of 1549:

'If they once creep into a village they for the most part never cease till they have devoured the whole. Whatsoever is pleasant or profitable must be theirs. If there be farm or sheep ground upon the which some poor man liveth, out he must: it lieth so commodiously for our new-come gentleman. If they let it out again, how do they stretch out the rents thereof, almost from a penny to a pound. Some suffer the houses to fall down and turn the ground into pasture. *Who will be troubled*, say they, *with such a sort of shake-ragged slaves, which do nothing but burn up our hedges, eat up the common, fill the town full of beggars' brawls*. If that same gentleness and liberality were found at this present

¹ 'You landlords, you rent-raisers, I may say you step-lords, you unnatural lords, you have for your possessions yearly too much. For that here before went for twenty or forty pound by year (which is an honest portion to be had gratis in one lordship of another man's sweat and labour), now is let for fifty or an hundred pound by year. Of this *too much* cometh this monstrous and portentous dearth made by man, notwithstanding God doth send us plentifully the fruits of the earth, that poor men which live of their labour cannot with the sweat of their face have a living' (*Sermons*, Parker Society, p. 98 f.). And see his reproof of a Warwickshire Justice, *Remains*, 419–29.

among the rich that hath been heretofore the commons should not only at all times be quiet but the realm should flourish with great wealth and that universally. Gentlemen to be encroachers, sheepmongers, graziers, butchers, clothiers, weavers, brewers! I speak nothing of their parsonages, vicarages, prebends, O abomination!'¹

The change from the 'worshipful' to the mercenary is expressed by Shakespeare in Old Gaunt's outburst against King Richard II:

This dear, *dear* land,
 Dear for her reputation through the world,
 Is now *leas'd out*, I die pronouncing it,
Like to a tenement or pelting farm;
 England, bound in with the triumphant sea,
 Whose rocky shore beats back the envious siege
 Of watery Neptune, is now *bound in* with shame,
With inky blots and rotten parchment bonds.
Landlord of England art thou now, not King;
Thy State of law is bond-slave to the Law.²

Squire Skinner was a 'gentleman' of the new order though a devoted adherent to the old faith—'an adversary of true religion' as he was pronounced in 1564. He crept into Rowington (on the death of his old father-in-law, for half a century 'bailiff' of the Crown estate, 'a worthy man to he had in memory', on 2 August 1558), and there revealed, in the language of neighbours, a 'greedy and covetous mind'. He

¹ *Works*, Parker Society, i. 599, 601.

² *Richard II*, II. i. 57–64, 113 f. Note the grim play on the word 'dear' (as on other terms throughout Gaunt's speech), as 'beloved' and 'high-rented'. 'The common fame ran that the King had granted letters to farm the realm unto Sir William Scrope, Earl of Wiltshire and Treasurer of England, to Sir John Bushy, Sir John Bagot, and Sir Henry Green'—his creatures in the play. The same grim punning (and equally effective) is in Talbot's speech:

Sell every man his life as *dear* as mine,
 And they shall find *dear deer* of us, my friends.

(1 *Hen. VI*, iv. ii. 45–54.)

was 'farmer of the parsonage'. He paid the rector his customary £4 and took for himself the remainder of the tithe. But he was not content to take from parishioners, 'after the manner of tithing time-out-of-mind', the 'two-pence for every day's math' or mowing of hay. He insisted on having a full tenth of every cock as it arose or nothing. Resisted in his attempts on one tenant after another, he prosecuted them singly, as scapegoats, in the Consistory Court at Worcester. Binding themselves together they sued a prohibition out of the Queen's Bench. He met them with a counter charge of perjury at the Warwick Assizes. Losing his case (by 'the men impanelled for the trial and the counsel on both sides debated'), he prosecuted individuals in 'divers suits at the common laws', intending, as the parishioners protested, 'to weary and impoverish' his poorer neighbours. Had he not been heard to declare that he would spend in the effort 'a hundred pounds, nay five hundred', and 'leave as much more to trouble them'? Ten years this intimidation went on until the victims out of a 'common purse' obtained in 1571 a bill in Chancery.¹

Champions of the parishioners were John and Thomas Shakespeare with their kinsman John Reeve, George Griswold, Thomas Eaton, and William Saunders, standing by poor men (one of whom was threatened with the pillory), and refusing four years together to pay any tithe unless the old custom was reverted to.

One of those 'men impanelled' at Warwick, at Easter 1569, was John Shakespeare, the Poet's father, Bailiff and Chief Magistrate of Stratford. 'After good consultations and deliberations' they yielded up their verdict that for the last forty-three years two pence had been paid for the tithe of 'a day's math', and Master Skinner was in *misericordia* for a false claim, and John Reeve (the defendant in the action) 'may go without a day'.²

¹ *Misc. Doc.* iii. 2-7.

² Deed no. 63 (Ryland, i, p. 41) in the Trustees' Chest at Rowington.

Feeling against Skinner was doubtless intensified by his Catholic convictions, notwithstanding his numerous co-religionists in Rowington and not a few dependants. The years 1569-72 were the exciting period of the Northern Rebellion (in the suppression of which Warwickshire men were conspicuous), the Queen's excommunication by the Pope, and the massacre of Huguenots in Paris. After St. Bartholomew's Day, 1572, the anniversary of the Queen's accession, 17 November, was celebrated until the end of her reign as a holiday, wherein villages competed in the ringing of their bells. In the churchwardens' accounts of Rowington are regularly such items as 'ale to the ringers on St. Hugh's Day' (17 November), 'mending the bells against St. Hugh's Day', 'a new bell-rope', 'candle to the ringers', 'fire and candles', 'candle and victual' (the season was dark and cold),¹ and 'bread and wine the Sunday after St. Hugh's Day' at communion.

After the Somerville-Arden conspiracy,² which touched the Poet's father nearly, deepening no doubt his hatred of Rome, Skinner, like other Catholic gentlemen in the neighbourhood, was an object of more than suspicion. His house was raided, on the instructions of Sir Francis Walsingham, in January 1584, by two local puritan magistrates (subsequently warm friends and supporters of that champion of presbyterianism at Warwick, Thomas Cartwright), Job Throgmorton of Haseley, and Robert Burgoyn of Wroxall. They had previously arrested and examined Thomas Sly of Bushwood in November. They were commissioned to search for evidence of Skinner's treasonable defence of the title of Mary of Scots to the succession and harbouring of a Jesuit priest. Throgmorton's report

¹ Bullcalf, we remember, had 'a whoreson cold, a cough, sir, caught with ringing-in the King's affairs upon his Coronation Day'—not lacking, therefore, in patriotism though unwilling to go to the wars (*2 Hen. IV*, iii. ii. 193-5).

² pp. 116 f.

confirms the squire's character for domination and determination:

'You would not credit,' he wrote, 'what secret labouring underhand and threatening of poor men there hath been to keep them from deposing. . . . Our papists here are wondrous cunning, and frail men without grace are easily corrupted. God be merciful unto us! it is a world to see¹ how fearfully the poor men spake that they did against Master Skinner. . . . If you will know anything of our secrets you must wring it from us by another means than by oaths, or else you shall know little. . . . Master Skinner himself is so stubborn and dogged that he altogether refuseth either to enter into recognisance or to be examined by us; therefore we wholly leave him to the Council, to wring from him what they can. He hath great friends and money at will, wherein I think he putteth more trust than in his own innocency. Howsoever things fall out, I can assure you he is as perilous a subject as any the Queen hath of his coat, and hath been a deadly enemy to the Gospel and to the proceedings thereof any time these twenty year. The Lord turn his heart or cut him off speedily!'²

The rector of Rowington was cautious in his evidence—Master Christopher Kirkland, bachelor of divinity, aged forty. He had 'heard' only, had been 'told' this or that, to other matter 'cannot depose', save that a son and a daughter of Master Skinner at home since August last 'had not been at church'.³ More illuminating is a scrap of dialogue between the parish clerk and the squire in the deposition of the former. 'What thinkest thou', said Master Skinner, 'of our Bishops that are made now?' 'I think', said the clerk (who was John Fairfax, aged 46), 'they are lawfully made by the Prince as supreme Head.' 'Why, thou fool, if one make thee a lease under a bush is that a good lease? No more are our Bishops now. . . . If there were a decree made that every one should

¹ A phrase used by Shakespeare: *Tam. Shrew*, II. i. 313; *Much Ado*, III. v. 38

² Ryland, i. 163.

³ Ib. 165.

live as he list, how many thinkest thou would come to church? Not passing ten of our parish, I warrant thee.'¹ Job Throgmorton later, as 'Martin Marprelate', had his views about protestant bishops, and having to go to church.

Kirkland died this year, 1584, and was succeeded (on the presentation of the presbyterian Earl of Warwick) by no less a person than Henry Heicroft, the vicar since 1569 of Stratford. An M.A. of Cambridge and licensed preacher (memorable to us as the officiating clergyman at the christening of the Poet's daughter Susanna on 25 May (1583) and pronounced Protestant he must have been something of a bombshell in Rowington. In the churchwardens' accounts presented in 1586 and 1587 are items for additional 'communions', the register, the 'paraphrase book', the service book, a book of prayer, 'a book of Musculus', the pulpit bell (for sermons), glazing windows about the church (a heavy expenditure, 15s. 4d.: plain glass no doubt replacing the coloured 'papistry'), and extra outlay on St. Hugh's Day—'at night for candel and victual, 3s. 4d.' Significant is the 'book of Musculus', at a cost of no less than 8s. 6d. The author was the famous Swiss reformer, Wolfgang Musculus, whose works were much quoted by Cartwright and Whitgift against each other in their controversy on 'episcopacy'. The churchwarden who paid for these things, and was out of pocket to the tune of 38s. 3d. in 1586 and 8s. 9d. in 1587, was Richard Shakespeare the weaver.²

John Shakespeare had died in 1574, but his half-brother and fellow in successful resistance to Squire Skinner was living in 1587, and known as 'old Thomas Shakespeare' to distinguish him from John's son, Thomas, of whom we shall hear directly. Richard the weaver and churchwarden was the son of Richard, weaver, above,³ and nephew of the successful defendant at Warwick in 1569, John Reeve.⁴ Evidently he supported Master Heicroft, as his successors in the wardenship did

¹ Ryland, i. 167.

² *Ib.* ii. pp. 90 f.

³ p. 68.

⁴ pp. 68, 71 f.

not. In the account of Richard Lea presented in 1589 are the tell-tale entries:

'Item paid and spent at Worcester the third of August [1588] when we were summoned thither, 5s. Item spent and paid at Worcester by means of the Vicar's wrong information against the parishioners by his slanderous letter, 12s. 2d.'¹

Richard Shakespeare the weaver lived at Lea Tyings² by the Bridge (towards the cost of which, 41s., in 1553 his father contributed 3s. 4d.) among his looms and spinning-wheels, with half a virgate to cultivate and 'two parcels of meadow'. He wrote a good hand, witnessed his father's will in 1560, and made his own in 1591—on the eve of Whitgift's determined effort to rope in the recusants. Skinner and his household by outward conformity escaped the penalty; as did his kinsmen the Oldenalls, save Prudence, the imprudent wife of Thomas Oldenall, her maid Alice and their priest, Sir John Appletree. Other Romanists, of more courage and less property, Griswolds, Cowpers, Henry Tubbs the tailor, John Bird, Widow Atwood and her daughters of the tavern at Inwood End, and the wife of the above Richard Lea, Vicar Heicroft's troubled and troublesome churchwarden, were presented, and some of them indicted for their 'obstinacy'. Protestants were content under Heycroft to go to church, including Richard Shakespeare, of whom we get a glimpse in the Corn Inquiry of 1595: 'He hath five persons to keep and ten quarter of malt to spare.'

Squire Skinner at this time had 'seventeen persons to keep and three score strike of wheat and rye to spare and twenty

¹ Ryland, ii. pp. 97, 99.

² The name evidently originated in the right to tether a horse for pasture, 'Take thy horse', says Fitzherbert, 'and go tether him upon thine own leas, flit him as oft as thou wilt, no man will say *wrong thou dost*; but make thy horse too long a tether, that it reacheth to another man's leys or corn; now hast thou given him too much liberty' (*Book of Husbandry*, § 148).

quarter of oats'. He had two sons and three daughters, was rich, with leases besides Shelfield and Rowington, lands in Adderbury, a house in Deddington, and annuities. Grove Park (still empaled for deer)¹ was in his tenure, as were the parks of Shelfield and Rowington (probably used for horses)—the latter 'containing by estimation 12 acres'. He left a favourite 'horsekeeper' £5. In his will were bequests of no less than four geldings worth £10 apiece (his 'best' was worth more), an 'ambling mare' (his best), a 'young grey colt', an 'old grey mare' (to the wife of old Thomas Sly dwelling in Rowington Park), and a 'white gelding' of 50s. value. He made generous legacies to servants and humble neighbours, of whom some at least were Catholics, like John Bird:

'I will that John Bird shall have abated him all the money he oweth me, excepting twenty pounds, which I will he shall pay within five years after my decease by four pounds a year.'

The repeated word 'blessed' in the brief religious preamble to his will might betray him, as does emphatically the bequest:

'I give to my cousin, Dorothy Brooke, my Crucifix.'²

He made his will on 25 January 1600 and was buried, as he desired, in the chancel of Rowington Church.

Another storm was then brewing in the parish and neighbourhood. Rowington parish bordered on that of Lapworth, where stood Bushwood Hall. This was an ancient and picturesque house (little remains of it),³ by a stream in a solitary valley, with a moat and drawbridge and a deer park, surrounded by 'woody or waste ground called Bushwood Common'. It was an object of mystery and suspicion, the residence of Sir William Catesby, the Catholic magnate, and of his son Robert, conspirator subsequently in Gunpowder

¹ It is marked in the map of 1603 (p. 135), Rowington Park is not.

² P. C. C. 55 Montague.

³ A gable, chimney and hearth embodied in a farmhouse built c. 1708.

Plot. Here, the brilliant and loved Campion found a refuge in 1581, for which treasonable hospitality¹ Sir William was sent to the Fleet, when Robert was eight years old. Campion, a scholar and a gentleman, devout, must have presented to the boy a very different idea of the 'ministry' from that of the Protestant curate in Lapworth ('a hireling to one that hath the parsonage in farm'), Baldwin Nutting (Utting), who, as his puritan censor said, 'sometime playeth the serving-man in a livery-coat, sometime the minister, neither preacher nor good reader, of ruffianly behaviour and of suspected life'.²

Sir William Catesby's brother John, marshal of the Queen's Bench prison in Southwark, in his will of 25 July 1592 left £5 to the poor of Lapworth, £5 to the poor of Henley, and the following bequests:

'To Sir William Catesby a ring of five marks' price, to my Lady Catesby a ring of forty shillings, to Robin Catesby and his wife one piece of plate of five pounds value.'³

'Robin' was then married to Katharine, daughter of Sir Thomas Leigh of Stoneleigh, a decided Protestant. One of the overseers of John Catesby's will was his 'cousin', Timothy Lucy, whose wife Susanna *may* have stood godmother to Shakespeare's first-born in 1583.⁴ Timothy was a brother of Sir Thomas Lucy. By marriage of their ancestor, Sir Thomas Lucy, sewer to King Henry VIII, with Elizabeth Empson, widow of George Catesby of Ashby St. Legers, Northamptonshire, in 1509, Charlecote and Bushwood, citadels of Romanism and Puritanism, were 'consanguineously' related in 1592.

Sir William, however, died in 1598 (when Robin was seven-and-twenty, with a son Robert, baptized 11 November 1595 at Chastleton near Barton-on-Heath, where he then resided), and

¹ He was well known in Warwickshire—Bishop Cheyney of Gloucester (once rector of Halford near Stratford) and the Earl of Leicester were his friends.

² 'Survey,' 1586.

³ P. C. C. 65 Harrington.

⁴ *Min. and Acc. Corporation of Stratford*, III. lvi. n.

before this year Bushwood had passed into the occupation of Master Thomas Holt, whose son Robert was born here in 1597 and his daughter Margaret in 1599. In 1601, the year of the Essex Rising, for participation in which Robert Catesby had to sell Chastleton, Master Holt came into violent collision with Rowington men and others, headed by Thomas Shakespeare and John Horsley. 'Time out of mind', as they declared, freehold tenants of the manor had put their cattle and swine to 'de-pasture' on the 'woody and waste ground', and 'fallen, lopt and chopt' timber in the same, 'paying neither rent nor tithe therefor'. Now Master Holt's cattle were in possession and his servants did as if the common were his. Thomas Shakespeare lived at 'the Hill' in Mousley End, the home of his fathers, was a freeholder, and a leaseholder of 'Harveys' and 'Lions', had 'six persons to keep and six quarter of oats to spare' in 1595, and a larger household before his death in 1614 (when he left goods and chattels to the value of £89), including his wife Annes, three daughters, and three sons with the ever-recurring names of the Shakespeare clan, John, Thomas, Richard. On Monday, 22 June 1601, with John Horsley as his lieutenant, he led a company to the 'waste' armed with 'bats and staves' and drove off the intruding cattle. On Thursday, the cattle having returned, he drove them off again, with help of 'mastiff-dogs in chains', 'lagging' the beasts and leaving them in quagmires. On 4 July, which was Sunday, for a third time he cleared the common. On Tuesday, on horseback with bows and arrows, he met armed resistance, and on Wednesday repeated the attack, wounding among others one Nicholas Meassey, Master Holt's 'footman'. The result was a suit in the Star Chamber in the Hilary Term 1602, with a judgement eventually for the villagers.¹ At their back was the doughty figure of Master Burgoyne of Wroxall, friend at

¹ Star Chamber Proceedings, 44 Eliz. I, Bundles xi (3), xvii (3), liii (22).

this time of the Stratford men in their battle with Sir Edward Greville.¹

Burgoynes was instrument of the arrest in Rowington in 1604 of a seminary priest named Sugar. Ordained at Douay in 1601, this young Jesuit 'had travelled afoot much', under the name of Cox, in Warwickshire, Staffordshire (his native county), and Worcestershire, 'to serve, help and comfort the meaner and poorer sort of Catholics'. Search was made for him on 'Relic Sunday, 8 July', which was in 1604, in the house of three bachelor brothers Griswold (Robert, Henry, and Ambrose, two of whom had been indicted as recusants in 1592), by the parish constable in company of a Griswold, who was evidently a Protestant, a nephew of the bachelor-brethren, Clement Griswold. Sugar was 'apprehended on the highway' walking with yet another Griswold and nephew of the brethren, who was an ardent Catholic and servant to a Catholic gentleman, Master Sheldon of Broadway in Worcestershire, Robert Griswold, probably the second recusant of that name presented in 1592. Robert insisted on being taken before Master Burgoynes, whom he knew, with the priest, with the result that both were sent to Warwick Gaol. A year later, on 16 July 1605, Sugar was hanged for treason and his quarters set up on the town gates. With him was executed his faithful fellow-prisoner (though opportunity was given him 'to get away'), 'bold and constant in professing the Catholic religion and zealous for martyrdom'.²

Life in Rowington, however, was not all contention. Its fifty or sixty tenant-farmers, two-thirds of whom had holdings of a virgate or less and only one a tenure exceeding 100 acres,³ with rights of common, worked hard and were happy in their labour, fed plentifully, had Sunday clothes as well as week-day,

¹ pp. 122, 129 f. Thomas Holt removed to Duddeston in April 1602, was knighted by King James in 1604, lived to build Aston Hall, 1618-35, and died in 1654 a royalist.

² Ryland, i. 174.

³ *Ib. i.* 180-5.

and four-post bedsteads and bedding, oak chests and furniture, home-made linen, beer, and candles, brass and pewter, and bits of silver, with the indispensable 'salt', now and again a Bible or a breviary, and went to church or refused to go according to the colour (for which not a few were ready to make sacrifices) of their common faith in Christ and immortality. There was hunting, archery, acting by travelling-players (the churchwardens once were moved to contribute 2*d.* out of the church funds to the collection for a play,¹ which gave unusual pleasure), and the annual Whitsun festival with its 'Whitsun-lord'. Almost every parish had its 'Whitsun-lord'—Lord Mar-all or Lord What-not, who, with his fellows, entertained the inhabitants of neighbouring parishes with 'pastoral', 'pastime', or 'morris', receiving a gift of money from the churchwardens (voted by the parishioners),² usually half a noble (3*s.* 4*d.*), towards some good object, such as making a bridge or recasting a bell. The 'Whitsun-lord' of no less than six adjacent parishes—Balsall, Henley-in-Arden (three times), Berkswell, Wootton-Wawen, Lapworth (twice), and Preston Bagot (twice) visited Rowington and received reward in the years 1561–1580. In 1569 the young men of Rowington collected 8*s.* toward 'the making of the Church-porch'. Shakespeare was well acquainted with such performances. His *Julia (as a boy)*,

at Pentecost,

When all our pageants of delight were play'd,
took the part of

Ariadne, passioning
For Theseus' perjury and unjust flight.³

That girls participated is unlikely.⁴ They probably confined

¹ Ryland, ii. p. 43 (about Xmas 1562).

² *Ib.*, pp. 43, 45: 'Item, there is owing to the said Richard Saunders that he laid down to Whitsun-lords of Henley and Barswell with the consent of the parish, vjs viijd.'

³ *Two Gentlemen*, IV. iv. 163 f., 173.

⁴ The acting of girls' parts by boys was traditional, and in many ways more satisfactory.

themselves to sheep-shearings, when at least they dressed up as goddesses and shepherdesses, and joined in dance and song. Perdita, on her lover's persuasion, is 'prank'd up' as Flora (he is 'obscured with a swain's wearing'). She distributes flowers, and sings, and dances with such grace that he wishes her

A wave of the sea, *that you might do*
*Nothing but that*¹

—an adoring compliment.

There was much love-making at these festivals, innocent and not innocent ('tumbling in the hay with aunts'), and not a little drunkenness. In olden time the churchwardens brewed ale and sold it in the church-porch in aid of the church funds. At Rowington they took 54*s.* 8*d.* in 1554, and 53*s.* 4*d.* in 1555. After the latter year the practice was abandoned. Church Ales, if they continued, brought no profit. In 1595 these were forbidden on the Sabbath Day; in 1599 they were prohibited altogether. Nevertheless the ancient close connexion between church and people more than lingered. The venerable building was used for purposes besides worship, was frequented on weekdays as well as Sundays, had family associations in seat and grave, was haunted and decorated by lads and lasses who danced in the churchyard. Not yet did it stand aloof in cold solemnity.²

Nor must we forget the Parish Cow, the 'Parish Heifer' Shakespeare speaks of as distinct from the 'Town Bull'.³ It was a primitive type of wealth still employed for communal charity. Shakespeare had heard the country saying, *That I*

¹ *Winter's Tale*, iv. iii.

² 'Church or Parish Ales, revels, May games, plays, and such other unlawful assemblies of the people of sundry parishes into one parish on the Sabbath Day and other times is a special cause that many disorders, contempts of law and other enormities are there perpetrated and committed to the great profanation of the Lord's Sabbath, the dishonour of Almighty God, increase of bastardy and of dissolute life, and of many other mischiefs and inconveniences to the great hurt of the Commonwealth' (Hamilton, *Quarter Sessions from Queen Elizabeth to Queen Anne*). ³ 2 Hen. IV, II. ii. 171.

would not for a cow, God save her!—which, with ludicrous contradiction, he puts into the mouth of the beef-eating Porter's man at Westminster :

'If I spared any that had a head to hit, either young or old, he or she, cuckold or cuckold-maker, let me ne'er hope to see a chine again, and that I would not for a cow, God save her'!¹

Rowington churchwardens leased their cow annually to a poor inhabitant, who for years (1552-7, and probably longer), was John Bird, the recusant (or his father) of 1592. The rent, 16d., was about 5 per cent, or half the usual interest. In 1571 the beast apparently was sick, and Bird received 2s. for its keep, and Roger Tybotts 5s. The proceeds, when there were such, went to the upkeep of the Queen's highway.²

15. 'JUSTICE SHALLOW'

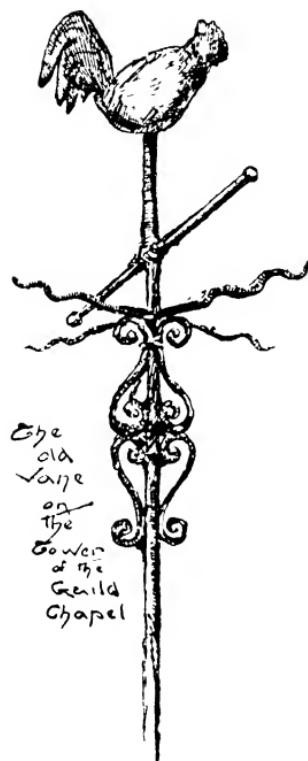
SHAKESPEARE has drawn a local Squire, a caricature,³ but none the less valuable to the historian. Justice Shallow's horizon is that of the Poet's country, from 'Woncot' and 'the Hill' (Woodmancote and Stinchcombe, at Dursley) to 'Barson' (Barcheston, 10 miles S.S.E. of Stratford, or Barston, 7 miles E. of Coventry), Tamworth (surely the original of 'Samforth' of the Quartos and 'Stamford', too far afield, of the Folio) and Hinckley, near Bosworth. Falstaff sketches him, inimitably, on the suggestion of a marginal note to Genesis xxx. 14 in the Geneva Version of the Bible, with help of an illustration of the mandrake in Gerarde's just-published *Herball*:

'This same starved Justice hath done nothing but prate to me of the wildness of his youth and the feats he hath done about Turnbull Street, and every third word a lie . . . I do remember him at Clement's Inn, like a man made after supper of a cheese-paring: when he was naked he was, for all the world, like a forked radish, with a head fantastically carved upon it with a

¹ *Hen. VIII*, v. iv. 23-7.

² Ryland, ii, p. 12.

³ Certainly not of Sir Thomas Lucy, to whom he does not bear the least resemblance: see pp. 114-21, and *Shakespeare's Stratford*, pp. 11f.



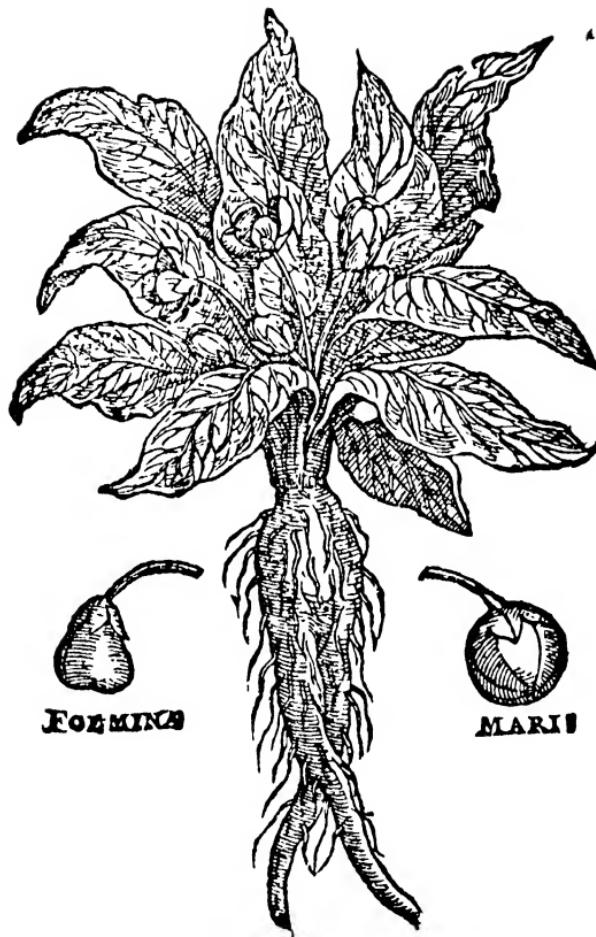
SHAKESPEARE'S WEATHERCOCK

From engraving by Gerald Moura



JOHN SHAKESPEARE'S SIGN MANUAL

(His Glover's Clamp) 24 January 1563



THE MANDRAKE

(Gerarde's Herball, 1597)

'A kind of herb whose root hath a certain likeness of the figure of a man' (marginal note to Genesis xxx. 14, in the Geneva Version.)
Shallow looked like this, in the lower parts, when naked—so Falstaff, who sees us to have seen him in a state of nature—assures us, and he did not always tell lies

knife; . . . the very genius of famine, yet lecherous as a monkey, and the whores called him mandrake. . . . And now is this Vice's dagger become a Squire . . . now has he land and beeves.'¹

This note in the Bible on the mandrake is, 'A kind of herb whose root hath a certain likeness of the figure of a man.' Gerarde is more circumstantial: 'The root is whitish, divided into two or three parts resembling the legs of a man, with other parts adjoining thereto, as the privy part.' He quotes its use in the Bible as a means of fruitfulness (as by Rachel), and among the ancient Greeks as a philtre, or potion, to excite desire²—whence a point in the ridicule of young Shallow by loose ladies in the neighbourhood of Clement's Inn.

Save for his terms at Clement's Inn to qualify him for land proprietorship and magistracy, Robert Shallow is a country bumpkin,³ a little fellow of feeble intelligence, eking out by vain repetition of words his lack of thought,⁴ the *custos* of his county's rolls which he cannot read, writing himself absurdly *armigero*. He lives on his memories of London, his audacities there in folly, his performance in *Arthur's Show* of the part of the fool, Sir Dagonet, his broken head at the hands of the famous John of Gaunt, and his remote connexion with the Court by his acquaintance with Sir John Falstaff. He is rich by inheritance and stinginess. In his vices when a youth he was parsimonious—his *bona roba* was poor Jane Nightwork in a windmill—and as an old tottering squire he keeps an eye on

¹ 2 *Hen. IV*, III. ii. 331–9, 352. And I. ii. 16–18 (Falstaff again, of the thin, long-legged Page).

² So in Shakespeare: Cleopatra's carnal outburst, 'Give me to drink mandragora. . . . I take no pleasure in aught an eunuch has' (*Ant. and Cleop.* I. v. 4, 9 f.).

³ Writing from Dumbleton in Gloucestershire 27 Dec. 1600 to a friend in London, Charles Percy excused his inability to come to town, saying, 'If I stay here long in this fashion, at my return I think you will find me so dull that I shall be taken for Justice Silence or Justice Shallow' (*S. P. Dom. Eliz.* cclxxv, 146).

⁴ As Pandarus does in *Troilus and Cressida* (a brainless beast).

every detail of economy and expenditure—the thrift^v sowing of the headland with red wheat,¹ the blacksmith's bill for shoeing and plough irons, a new link to a bucket, a sack lost at the fair, and the deduction of the cost from William's wages, and the items of Falstaff's supper. He is too thrifty to drink too much. With his steward, Davy, and the rest of his servants he is on terms of cheap familiarity:

'It is a wonderful thing to see the semblable coherence of his men's spirits and his: they by observing him do bear themselves like foolish justices; he, by conversing with them is turned into a justicelike serving-man'.²

To his credit he is shocked by Falstaff's dealings with the recruits, and does not at once respond to Davy's pleading on behalf of William Visor against Clement Perks. By his oaths he belongs, indifferently, to the Old Faith. He is afraid of death. The bit of dialogue in which he mixes up worldly trivialities and the thought of Eternity is tragic:

Shallow. Is old Double of your town living yet?

Silence. Dead, sir.

Shallow. Dead! See, see! he drew a good bow—and dead! he shot a fine shoot: John of Gaunt loved him well and betted much money on his head. Dead! he would have clapp'd in the clout at twelve score, and carried you a forehand shaft a' fourteen and fourteen and a half, that it would have done a man's heart good to see. How a score of ewes now?

Silence. Thereafter as they be: a score of good ewes may be worth ten pounds.

Shallow. And is old Double dead!³

This solemn dread saves him from being commonplace. He

¹ *2 Hen. IV*, v. i. 15-17. The headland is the strip of land at the end of the furrow where the plough turned, left usually untilled, as a cart track. It is the latter end of August (Hinckley Fair 'the other day' was on 15 Aug.), but there is just time to sow the strips with red corn, known in the Cotswolds as 'lammas wheat' (Madden, p. 273). The interpretation of the Quarto 'hade land', as high ground takes all the point out of the speech. ² *Ib.* v. i. 72-6. ³ *Ib.* III. ii. 45-58.

cannot quite, like Autolycus, 'sleep out the thought of it'. He is interesting too, as such men often are, because of his *House*—the old Tudor manor-house, whose homely roof and gables, porch and windows, and air of substantial comfort and welcome, are the despair of the modern architect. We may see it in a hundred villages, with its orchards and gardens, arbour, and dovecote. For the interior and inmates of a similar 'goodly dwelling', at no great distance from Stratford and perhaps within the parish,¹ we may read *The Taming of the Shrew*. Here is the 'fairest' bedchamber, hung with pictures, with its sumptuous four-poster, silver ewer and basin, silver flower-bowl, diaper and attendant page; the library, where the daughters of the house are taught Latin and music, not in this case by 'ministers' (like John Bretchgirdle of Stratford² and Henry Flatche of Snitterfield)³ but by 'schoolmasters'—tutors, that is, who are laymen and University scholars 'in sober robes', one 'long a student at Rheims', 'cunning in Greek, Latin and other languages, as the other in music and mathematics'; the buttery, where huntsmen and, on occasion, a company of players are regaled; the servants' hall, with its noisy talk and horse-play in the master's absence; and the entrance porch or gate where the master arrives with his lady before they are expected or the servants are ready. The little groom's testy speeches on his reaching the house half-frozen with cold, and the replies (with inquisitive inquiries) of Curtis, followed by Petruchio's outburst (not altogether assumed), are contemporary record worth more (and still more because of Grumio's satirical insistence on medieval obeisance, in 1595 growing old-fashioned) than a sack of dusty documents:

Grum. Where's the cook? Is supper ready, the house trimm'd, rushes strew'd, cobwebs swept; the serving-men in their new

¹ The tutor from Rheims, the huntsmen and park, the old-fashioned obeisance, the tradesman particulars (as to coat, hat, pumps, dagger) suggest Clopton and proximity to Stratford.

² *Shakespeare's Stratford*, pp. 34, 55.

³ p. 94.

fustian, their white stockings, and every officer his wedding-garment on?¹ Be the jacks fair within and jills fair without, the carpets laid, and everything in order? *Curt.* All ready; and therefore, I pray thee, news. *Grum.* First, know my horse is tired; my master and mistress fallen out. *Curt.* How? *Grum.* Out of their saddles into the dirt; and thereby hangs a tale. *Curt.* Let's ha't, good Grumio. *Grum.* Lend thine ear. *Curt.* Here. *Grum.* There! [striking him]. . . . But what talk I of this? Call forth Nathaniel, Joseph, Nicholas, Philip, Walter, Sugarsop, and the rest; *let their heads be sleekly combed, their blue coats brushed, and their garters of an indifferent knit: let them curtsey with their left legs, and not presume to touch a hair of my master's horse-tail till they kiss their hands.* Are they all ready? *Curt.* They are. *Grum.* Call them forth. *Curt.* Do you hear, ho! you must meet my master to countenance my mistress . . . [Enter Petruchio].

Pet. Where be these knaves? What, no man at door
To hold my stirrup, nor to take my horse:
Where is Nathaniel, Gregory, Philip? . . .
Where is the foolish knave I sent before?
Did I not bid thee meet me in the Park,
And bring along these rascal knaves with thee?

Grum. Nathaniel's coat, sir, was not fully made,
And Gabriel's pumps were all unpink'd i' th' heel;
There was no link to colour Peter's hat,
And Walter's dagger was not come from sheathing.²

16. SNITTERFIELD

THREE and a half miles from Wilmcote, and about the same from Stratford, was the widely scattered parish of Snitterfield, in places 250 feet above the Avon, consisting of

¹ An expression from Shakespeare's Geneva Bible: 'Then the King . . . saw there a man which had not *on a wedding-garment*. And he said unto him, Friend, how camest thou in hither and hast not *on a wedding-garment?*' (Matthew, xxii. 11 f.). The repeated *on* is peculiar to the Geneva Version. The Catholic (Rheims) version has 'attired in'. Shakespeare shows no acquaintance with the Catholic Bible.

² IV. i. 47 ff., 123 ff.

woodland, heath, furze, bushes, arable-land, pastures and meadow—

My bosky acres and my unshrub'd down¹

—with a manor-house, a fine old church, and substantial timber farm-houses and cottages. Here Richard Shakespeare, the Poet's grandfather, occupied Master Arden's 'messuage', 'adjoining Mere Lane, and abutting itself against the High Street' —probably the highroad to Warwick (5½ miles distant), known also as 'Warwick Way' and 'Warwick Lane'. Close by was Dawkins' Hedge, and within the parish or near it were places whose names are suggestive of the character of the locality—Burman (Birmon) and Red Hill on the right of the road to Luscombe, Griswold, Bush Field, the Wold, the Heath, Wall Fields, the Park pit (the Lady of Bergavenny had a park at Snitterfield in 1427),² Wood Way, Coplowes ('next Parsons', otherwise Burgess Hedge, 'which shoots down into the Way after Luscombe Hedge'), Lammas Close, Aston Meadow, Errymarsh Meadow, Bitford Hyde, Brook Field, North Brook, the Hill Field ('where the windmill standeth'), Gallow Hill Field, Brunt Hill or the New Leasowes, Rowley Field ('over-run with conies'), the Common Leas ('between Hollow Meadow and Ingon Gate, shooting up by Stratford Way pit to Broad Meadow'), and Ingon Dale. A brook ran down from the village, joined by another from Northbrook and a third beyond Briary Lands, to the Avon at Sherborne.

Lord of the lesser manor when Richard Shakespeare settled there some time before 1529 was the Prior of Warwick; then, after the dissolution of the priory, Sir Richard Morrison, a strong Protestant, resident in Warwick, who sold the estate in 1546 to John Hales of Coventry. Freeholders paying suit, besides Robert Arden, were Thomas Robins of Northbrook, and Richard Grant of Briary Lands, whose son, Edward Grant,

¹ *The Tempest*, IV. i. 81.

² Cal. Pat. Rolls 5 Hen. vi, p. 1, m. 19.

married the daughter and heiress of Thomas Robins and acquired Northbrook. Under the Grants Northbrook was a suspect stronghold and refuge of Romanism. It figured prominently, as we shall see, in Gunpowder Plot. At the Wold lived the notorious William Bott, a lawyer, agent, until he was discredited, of the Cloptons. Also at the Wold resided John Townsend, whose daughter married Alderman Dickson *alias* Waterman, glover, and host of the *Swan* at Stratford.

As a link between Snitterfield and Stratford, and probably between Richard Shakespeare's farm and John Shakespeare's shop, the Townsends call for notice.

John Townsend was a freeholder, known to Master Robert Arden. He witnessed the release of John Palmer's tenement, adjoining Richard Shakespeare's farm, to Master Arden on 1 October 1529. In his will, of 10 October 1546, he bequeathed his freehold to his wife, Margaret, for life and to dispose of at her death as she thought best. He expressed the wish that she and their son Thomas should occupy two parts of the farm jointly, and their younger son William should occupy the third part. Among the three he distributed his corn and crop, beasts, horses, carts, and other things, reserving a cow for his daughter Joan, and a 'nose-calf' for her son. Joan was Mistress Dickson *alias* Waterman, and her son was Thomas, who succeeded his father as host of the *Swan*. Another daughter, Mary, was married to John Staunton of Longbridge, near Warwick, and had a son, Thomas Staunton, whose five daughters by marriage formed an influential family connexion. Katharine was the wife of Barnaby Holbage of the *Swan* in Warwick, supporter of Job Throgmorton;¹ Elizabeth of Edward Badger of Bidford Mills, whom we have seen before;² and Judith of William Shakespeare's friend, Hamlet Sadler.³ After Judith and Hamlet Sadler, the Poet named his twin children on Candlemas Day 1585.

¹ p. 72.

² p. 47 f.

³ p. 21 f.

Widow Townsend survived her husband some twelve years. With her sons, of whom Thomas married and had a son, Thomas, she lived on the farm, taking an active share in the work. We see her in her 'old coat' on week-days, with her head in a kerchief, among her bees and milk-pails, grinding malt for her household ale, making cheese, and busy in the kitchen, aided by a kinswoman, Alice Townsend, who after her death, we gather, married her younger son, William. Thomas ploughed with his team of oxen and followed the 'ox-harrow with seventeen tines'—teeth—'of iron' in it. On Sunday Widow Townsend went to church, where her husband was buried, in a hat or a cap, wearing her beads and a silver ring, in a gown of velvet, a black kirtle, and a red petticoat 'over-bodied with red russells', or fox-skins, and 'a harnessed girdle of silver'. She died about the time of Queen Mary's decease and the accession of Elizabeth (17 November 1558), making her will on 1 June 1558, four months before the inventory of her goods on 10 October by Thomas Palmer, Thomas Mayowe, and Master Bott. She bequeathed the freehold to Thomas, with 'all the wood lying against the elms at the chamber-end', and a cow, and a few household things; and all the rest of her possessions, save a few personal gifts, she left to William. Mistress Dickson obtained her mother's cap; Thomas's wife the 'harnessed girdle of silver' and the rest of the Sunday garments; a god-daughter, Margaret Phillips of Chapel Street, Stratford (aunt in the future of Mistress Richard Quyney), the silver-ring; and Alice Townsend a cow, a pair of sheets, a 'twilly' (bed-covering), a caldron, two pewter dishes, a pair of tache-hooks, and two 'partlets'. Mary Staunton's children inherited a memorial groat apiece, and her husband was appointed supervisor of the testament. Thomas's right to seven gold pieces (two angels and five crowns), given to him one day by his mother 'in the barn', is acknowledged by William.

Through the Townsends John Shakespeare may have been

apprenticed as a youth to a glover in Stratford, and one able to give him a good start in life—namely, Alderman Dickson, *alias* Waterman, of the *Swan*. A grandson of Widow Townsend, John Townsend, had Edward Cornwall as godfather of his son Edward in Snitterfield Church on Sunday, 13 July 1578, and Henry Shakespeare as godfather of his son Henry in the same place on Sunday, 4 September 1586. So the bonds of friendship continued.

Richard Shakespeare's grandfather, as we have seen, took the Lancastrian side in the Wars of the Roses and was rewarded by Henry VII, probably for services at the Battle of Bosworth (22 August 1485), with lands and tenements. He may have settled in Snitterfield from Balsall, as his probable cousins the Shakespeares settled thence in Warwick. There was a family of Shakespeares which settled in Snitterfield, and thence in Clifford Chambers, probably from Rowington. We have noted at Rowington the marriage of John Shakespeare's widow Eleanor with one Cox, and her surrender in 1530 of her farm, which she held jointly with her son Anthony. She may have removed to Snitterfield, where her husband would be William Cox of that village, and her son the father of Thomas, John, and Anthony Shakespeare and their sister Alice. Thomas Shakespeare paid £4 rent for his farm in Snitterfield, served on the Jury of Frankpledge in 1581 and 1583, was fined for his neglect of the statutes of Archery and Caps in 1583,¹ and was defendant in a suit in the Court of Record at Stratford which lasted from September 1585 to March 1586. His surety in this case was William Wilson, glover, of Henley Street—fellow-

¹ 'Of Thomas Shackespere vi*d* for not having and exercising bows and arrows according to the form of the statute; of Thomas Shackespere iiij*d* for not having and wearing caps on Sundays and holy days to the church according to the form of the statute.' The same day, 25 Oct., Henry Shakespeare of Ingon was fined viij*d* for the latter offence, viij*d* instead of iiij*d* because he did not appear in court (Richard was on the Jury). See p. 61 f.

craftsman and neighbour of Alderman John Shakespeare. His brother, John Shakespeare of Snitterfield (not to be confused with the Alderman nor the 'corviser' of Stratford), married a widow Hobbins of Clifford Chambers near Stratford, succeeded to her late husband's farm, and resided there until his death in 1610. His will¹ throws light on his brothers and sister. He left money for a new bier for Clifford Church. His brother, Anthony Shakespeare, served as a billman under the Earl of Warwick against the Northern rebels in 1569. He lived at Budbroke (where he married) and elsewhere, had a daughter christened in Stratford Church by Vicar Heicroft in 1584, and survived his brother, John. Their sister Alice married Charles Mallory of Clifford Chambers in 1580 and died in 1612. With Clifford Chambers, therefore, the Poet had points of contact besides his friendship with Michael Drayton, who was frequently there as a visitor to Sir Henry Rainsford and his wife, the 'Fair Idea' of his sonnets, Anne, daughter to Sir Henry Goodyere of Polesworth.

Unfortunately we do not know the name of Richard Shakespeare's wife. She may have been a Porter of Snitterfield, a sister of Hugh Porter who occupied part of Master Arden's property adjoining Richard Shakespeare's 'messuage', and was a valued friend of Master Arden, being made a trustee by him for his daughters in 1550. Hugh Porter owned lands at Snitterfield and Barford, which he bequeathed to his son-in-law and grandson, Richard and Porter Meads. There was friendship between the Shakespeares and the Meads.

Richard Shakespeare had two sons, John and Henry, and probably a daughter, Joan. John was born about 1529 or earlier, and presumably was baptized in Snitterfield Church. John Donne was vicar of Snitterfield from 1515 to 1541, and from him or his successor, Thomas Hargreave, 1541-1557, John Shakespeare may have acquired that modicum of learning

¹ Gloucester P. C., 24 Dec. 1608.

which enabled him to become a successful man of business, a trusted and valued Chamberlain, Alderman, and Bailiff of Stratford, a keen litigant, and—father of a Poet.

We have more than a glimpse of Sir Thomas Hargreave and his parsonage. He farmed his glebe, with a kinswoman to keep house for him. In his 'hall' were a table, tressels, benches, an 'ambrey' or cupboard, and seven painted-cloths; the 'parlour', over the 'hall',¹ contained bedding, linen, and a coffer (worth together £3 2s. 3d.); in the 'chambers' were six bedsteads. He had a mill-house, as well as a kitchen, a store of winnowed corn, and, growing in the field, 12 acres of wheat, 17 of rye and maslin, 8 of barley and 'dredge', 12 of oats, 19 of peas. We note 4 oxen (valued at £7),² a little ambling nag (26s. 8d.), an old lame mare (5s.), a wain, a cart, 2 old tumbrels, 3 ploughs, one pair of harrows, and other things: *summa totalis*, £34 10s. 2d. He died at the end of Mary's reign, bequeathing his soul 'to God Almighty and Our Blessed Lady, and all the Holy Company of Heaven', and his body to be 'buried in the Church of Snitterfield afore my seat in the chancel'. One of his executors was the new vicar of Wootton Wawen, Edward Alcock. In his will, of 27 April 1557, he made bequests to relatives, god-children, servants, and the poor 'where need is' (malt, peas, 'beef and bacon as much as there is in the house'). Richard Shakespeare and Richard Meads helped to make the inventory of his belongings on 5 May.

The Poet's grandfather, like his father, was active in public service. He witnessed the will of Henry Walker in August 1558, helped to make the inventory of Roger Lyncecombe in April 1559, that of John Sambridge in May 1559, and that of Thomas Palmer in January 1560. Widow Arden let his farm in May 1560 to her brother, Alexander Webbe of Bearley, as

¹ The 'parlour' (a combined bed- and sitting-room) was sometimes an over chamber. See p. 16.

² About the value, then, of Atwood's gift to Shakespeare's grandfather, p. 47.

from 25 March 1561. Apparently there was no intention of disturbing the old man or of immediate removal from Bearley, for in September 1560 Webbe leased from Adrian Quyney land in Bearley for 21 years, at the rent of 26s. 8d. Richard Shakespeare, however, died before the date of Webbe's tenure of his 'messuage'.

In the meantime he and William Bott and others appraised the goods of the Snitterfield blacksmith, Henry Cole, in June 1560—a craftsman with a reputation beyond the parish for tuning of church-bells—as earlier he had done the same kindly service for Cole's daughter-in-law. Finally, he valued the belongings of his esteemed fellow-parishioner, Richard Meads, on 13 September 1560. Meads left nephews, one of whom, William, became the close friend of Alexander Webbe and his son (William Shakespeare's first cousin), Robert Webbe, at Snitterfield. Richard Shakespeare died in the winter 1560-1, and his goods, in their turn, were priced by old acquaintance at the not large nor mean sum of £38 17s. od. His son, John, exhibited the inventory and obtained letters of administration at Worcester on 10 February 1561. In the bond father and son are described as of Snitterfield, and John is termed *agricola*. John probably farmed land to the end of his days. He retained his interest in his father's holding long enough to be responsible for the condition of the hedges in October 1561. Alexander Webbe entered into possession. Henry Shakespeare, John's younger brother, had removed to a farm not far off, at Ingon, where John also rented land.

This was an exciting moment, full of change, religious and political, as well as domestic, in Snitterfield. Vicar Hargreave had been followed by William Burton, probably more of a Romanist than he. Burton was deprived, and on 26 September 1561 the puritan, John Pedder, a Marian exile, was instituted in his stead. If we may see the father in the son, Richard Shakespeare was a Protestant, and not illiterate. It would be

strange if a man so much in request for wills and inventories had less education than Peter Quince and Snug the joiner,¹ than Phoebe in *As You Like It*² or Mopsa in *A Winter's Tale*.³ These are fictitious personages, but they are true to life.

John Pedder was vicar ten years, and was succeeded in 1571⁴ by a Cambridge scholar (incorporate M.A. at Oxford in 1573),⁵ Thomas Ferriman, who was a preacher as well as a scholar, and resident, in and before 1586, in another and probably more stirring benefice. Complaint was made, by the puritan surveyor of this year, that Ferriman's curate ('hireling') was 'dumb and unlearned, far unfit for the ministry, yet thought to be honest'. His name was Henry Flatche. 'He teacheth,' we learn with pleasure, 'to play on instruments, and draweth wrought works.'⁶ In other words, Robert Webbe's minister, in whom his cousin, William Shakespeare, would be interested as the clergyman in his grandfather's and father's old church, was a musician and an artist, if he only read homilies in the pulpit.

17. SHAKESPEARE'S COUSIN, ROBERT WEBBE

ALEXANDER WEBBE (Shakespeare's uncle 'Saundre') brought from Bearley his wife (Shakespeare's aunt Margaret), and four young children, of whom Robert, born probably on 12 October 1558, was doubtless named after his grandfather, Master Robert Arden, and Mary presumably was named after Mary Shakespeare (the future Poet's mother). A second son, Edward, baptized at Snitterfield on 30 July 1562, had, we may believe, his uncle (and Shakespeare's uncle), Edward (or Edmund: the names are interchangeable in the local registers) Lambert of Barton-on-Heath for godfather. There was friendship, as well as kinship, between the Shakespeares and Webbes. When Alexander Webbe died, in April 1573 (his son Robert being fourteen and a half years old, and

¹ *Mid. N. D.* i. ii. 68, 101-3. ² III. v. 134, 136. ³ IV. iv. 263.
⁴ Dugdale, 505. ⁵ *Register*, II. i. 362 f. ⁶ 'Survey,' Morice MS.

William Shakespeare a few days short of nine), his will (dated 15 April) was witnessed by Henry Shakespeare (William's uncle 'Harry'); and 'John Shakespeare of Stratford-upon-Avon' (William's father) was a 'supervisor', 'to see this my last will and testament performed, satisfied and fulfilled'. Robert was to receive £10 within four years (when he would be eighteen), Edward £10 'at the age of eighteen', and their sisters 5 marks apiece at 'eighteen'. Executrix and residuary legatee was their mother, Margaret, who would thus be in close contact with Master John Shakespeare. Not long after her widowhood she married again, one Edward Cornwall. The match may have had to do with a quarrel at Snitterfield between Henry Shakespeare and the bridegroom, resulting in a fine of 3*s.* 4*d.* for the one and 2*s.* for the other at the Court Leet on 12 October 1574—Robert Webbe's sixteenth birthday. Two years later, on Robert Webbe's attainment of the age of eighteen, it fell to Master John Shakespeare (his son, William, being in his fifteenth year and not uninterested), to see that his nephew received the £10 from his mother and step-father: on which day, 12 October 1576, the Cornwalls did more than pay him his inheritance, for they assigned to him their interest in the Snitterfield estate, including the lease made by Mistress Arden (still living at Wilmcote) to her late brother, Alexander Webbe, on 21 May 1560. On 16 October Thomas Stringer (who had married Agnes Arden now deceased) parted with his and his late wife's interest in the same property, and that (which he had acquired) of Thomas Edkins and his wife (Katharine Arden), to the Cornwalls for £68. It was young Webbe's ambition to become the owner of his grandfather's estate in Snitterfield, and he had the support of all his mother's people, including Mistress and Master John Shakespeare, who had acquired the interest of Alice, or Joyce, Arden. Step by step he bought the shares of the parties, at a total cost of some £200. Toward the close of the transaction, which occupied more than

five years, a claimant appeared to that portion of the property which Thomas Arden had purchased from the Mayowes. His petition to Chancery failed hopelessly, but it brought upon the scene venerable witnesses who had known and respected William Shakespeare's two grandfathers—such as Adam Palmer of Aston Cantlowe, yeoman, and old John Henley of Snitterfield, husbandman, 'of the age of eighty or thereabout'. How Robert Webbe obtained the money for his purchase, and successful resistance to the suit, does not appear; but the remarkable coincidence of dates of Master Shakespeare's mysterious disposal of Asbies (through fear, as we may believe, of Whitgift) and his sale of his interest in Snitterfield to Webbe more than suggest that he secretly assisted his nephew in his undertaking.

Mistress Arden rendered good service to Robert Webbe in the suit in Chancery. 'Aged and impotent', and unable 'to travel', she made her deposition in the old home at Wilmcote on Tuesday, 5 July 1580, in the presence of faithful Adam Palmer. The same day she renewed her brother's lease to Robert. She died the following Christmas, being buried at Aston Cantlowe on 29 December. She left memorial shillings to Robert and his brother and sisters, to John Lambert (Edmund's son of Barton-on-Heath), and to all her godchildren. The bulk of her property went to her son, John Hill, and her late daughter Mary's husband, John Fulwood. Overseers of her will were Adam Palmer and George Gibbs (Master Shakespeare's prospective tenant at Wilmcote), who, also, assisted to make the inventory of her goods on Thursday, 19 January 1581, valued at £45. At her death the Wilmcote 'copyhold' passes out of sight, and the Snitterfield estate to her stepdaughters and their assign, Robert Webbe.

In September 1581 (the time of William Shakespeare's betrothal) Robert Webbe married Mary Perks, the daughter of John Perks of Snitterfield, and entered into an arrangement

with her ~~father~~ wherein we recognize the thrifty mind of Robert and the willingness of his own and the bride's friends to forward his ambition. He let the farm to his father-in-law for six years for £35 down and an annual rent of 4d., with the proviso that he, the father-in-law, shall repair the premises, keep twenty sheep for Robert during the winter, and 'find and allow' for the said Robert, Mary his wife, Margaret his mother (Shakespeare's aunt Margaret), and Edward Cornwall, his step-father, 'necessary, convenient and wholesome meat, drink, chamber, lodging and fire, Edward Cornwall paying yearly £3'; and 'if it haps that Robert Webbe and Mary have any child or children during the said term, John Perks shall find and allow for the same meat, drink, chamber, lodging and fire, with free entry in and out'.

Here was a typical method of raising capital (in the absence of banks), and the typical joint household, like that of the Hathaways, the Quynseys, the Shakespeares. Webbe's brothers and sisters were out in the world (Sarah the youngest was in her 17th year), but John Perks and his wife, Helen, had two sons and two daughters besides Mary Webbe; and it did 'hap' that Robert and Mary had children to be lodged and fed, with free entry to toddle 'in and out': Esther, baptized 6 March 1584, and William (godson of William Cooks of Snitterfield), baptized 24 June 1586. Others followed, with good Biblical names—Martha, baptized 2 September 1588, Mary, baptized 10 January 1591, Elijah, baptized 12 June 1593 (who was buried about November). A fourth daughter, born about September 1595, was christened Prudence. This name and Temperance (both much in fashion among the 'godly')¹ are objects of the villain Antonio's mockery in *The Tempest* (II. i. 43, 286). Without doubt the old religious link between Richard Shakespeare's 'messuage' and Henley Street was maintained.

The elder of these children were contemporary with their

¹ But see p. 75.

cousins in Stratford—Susanna, Judith, and Hamlet. The growth of his family was hardly favourable to Robert Webbe's aspirations, but William Shakespeare, with brighter worldly prospects in 1597, when he left the 'Birthplace' for New Place, may have envied his 'quiverful'. Calls on his resources may have tried Webbe's strength, as well as drawn out his hopes of 'gentlehood'. A new babe was born to him and not yet baptized when on 1 June 1597 (a few days after Shakespeare's purchase of New Place) he made his will, 'sick in body but of good and perfect remembrance'. The document, signed and witnessed in the old home of the Shakespeares and containing references to this interesting property, will bear quotation:

'I give to Mary my wife my crop of one half yardland belonging to the house wherein Richard Taylor'—his farmservant—'dwelleth, and five kine, and my household stuff, upon condition she pay to my daughters Esther, Mary, Martha, and Prudence, five marks apiece at their ages of twenty-and-one years.

'I give to my said daughter, Esther, £16 13s. 4d. more, and to my other three daughters twenty nobles apiece more, at their ages of twenty-and-one years.

'Also towards the payment of my debts and legacies, I do by these presents bequeath to my brethren-in-law, Thomas Perks and John Hill, one yardland with the appurtenances and all whatsoever to the same belonging, and all houses, except my new building, and half the barn, garden and orchard, to have and to hold, except before excepted,¹ for sixteen years and four months next ensuing.

'I give to my youngest son'—not yet christened—'one mesusage, and the orchard, in the tenure of Richard Wilkins, and the moiety of half a yardland thereunto belonging, and all growing in and upon the same.

'I do give to my eldest son'—William—'all the rest of my lands, tenements and hereditaments in Snitterfield or wheresoever else, without impeachment of waste.'¹

¹ For Shakespeare's use of these legal terms, see *Twelfth N. I.* iii. 7; *Merry Wives*, iv. ii. 224-6; *Meas. for Meas.*, ii. ii. 170.

'Item, my will is that if the commodities of the said yardland during the said term of 16 years and four months and the rest of my goods ungiven shall not be sufficient to discharge my debts and legacies, then my executors shall let or sell the cottage and the land in the tenure of Nicholas Utting.'

Here is the Robert Arden property—the one yardland (virgate) and half yardland, the two farmhouses adjoining, and the cottage—with a 'new building' added. The name Utting takes us back to John Shakespeare's youth—to one John Utting, who took his B.A. at Oxford in 1522, and was Clement Throgmorton's heretic vicar at Haseley from 1526 until his deprivation under Mary in 1554, when young Thomas Lucy came to the rescue and presented him 'in some fashion', which the liberal Catholic bishop, Nicholas Heath, winked at, to Charlecote (*jam certo modo vacantem*). The 'sixteen years and four months' would bring the youngest daughter, Prudence, to the age of eighteen, in September 1611.

Robert Webbe was buried at Snitterfield, in the resting-place of old Richard Shakespeare and, a few months since, of Henry Shakespeare and his wife, Margaret, of Ingon, probably on Sunday, 5 June.¹ His goods and chattels were valued, by William Meads and Edward Cornwall, at £51 13s. 8d. His widow and her babe were brought to Stratford, we cannot doubt, by the Poet's father, to be taken care of in Henley Street, perhaps in the peaceful 'Back', just vacated by the Poet's wife and daughters.² Master John Shakespeare probably acted as godfather to his late nephew's orphan-child on Sunday, 19 June. We read in the register of baptisms:

1597, June 19. Johannes filius Roberti Webbe de Snitterfeld. This child, John, died in 1599, the elder brother, William, in 1643, both at Snitterfield: where lived their grandmother, Shakespeare's aunt Margaret, until 1614, and was buried, the Poet surely attending, on Friday, 26 August.

¹ The scribe has mistaken the Sunday, writing 29 May instead of 5 June. ² See *Shakespeare's Stratford*, p. 26 f., 44 f.

18. SHAKESPEARE'S UNCLE HARRY OF INGON

ABOUT a mile from Snitterfield, and two miles from Hampton Lucy, was, and is, the solitary hamlet (if it can be called such) of Ingon, the home of Henry Shakespeare and his wife, Margaret, the Poet's second aunt of this name. A sister, Joan, may have lived with him prior to his marriage, in or about the year 1580, and subsequently. He farmed land in Snitterfield, near the church (including the fields of Red Hill and Burman on the right of the road to Luscombe), as well as at Ingon, in the parish of Hampton Lucy. Hence his connexion with both parishes and both parish churches. Part of his farm at Ingon belonged to John Combe of Stratford, and was known after his death as 'Shakespeare's Close'.

What we know of him smacks strongly of his brother John—*independence, obstinacy, pugnacity, industry, and an appearance more than once of poverty not borne out by facts*. He witnesses the will of his kinsman, Alexander Webbe, and 'draws blood' on the widow's suitor (or second husband), Cornwall. Years pass, and we hear nothing of him until the early eighties, when he figures prominently for refusal to pay his tithe and wear the statute cap.

The matter of the tithe associates him with the notorious Master Richard Brooke of Warwick. This gentleman was the wealthy tenant of the Temple Farm, the Castle Mills, and other properties, the determined antagonist of the Fisher ascendancy in the Warwick corporation, and in favour, on this and other grounds, with the puritan lordships of Warwick and Kenilworth. Greedy after Church property, he claimed the Myton tithes. Fisher resisted him. On 27 November 1576 there was a lively siege of the Tithe barn. Brooke's servants defended with bows and arrows and calivers, but were 'over-matched' and forced to escape, some 'to John Jeffereys' house, the rest to Brooke's, where they were received of Mary, his

mischievous and malicious mate'.¹ Jeffereys' house was at Wolverton, neat Snitterfield. He was a lawyer and Clerk of the Peace, a friend and adviser of Brooke, 'every day walking in his grounds'.²

Wolverton, a mile and a half north of Snitterfield, was the scene of the labours of a gifted and earnest young Oxford scholar, from St. Alban Hall,³ Clement Walford, presented to the parish in 1575 by the mother of Job Throgmorton the 'Martinist', otherwise Katharine, widow of Clement Throgmorton of Haseley.⁴ The puritan critic we have before quoted, of 1586, praises Walford as a 'preacher' and 'learned', and 'daily profiting and increasing in knowledge'.⁵ For twenty-two years he was incumbent of Wolverton. We associate him with Job Throgmorton, and with Thomas Staunton of Longbridge (the father of Hamlet Sadler's wife Judith), who bought the manor from Job, and with Jeffereys, and with the friends of Jeffereys, Richard Brooke of Warwick and, later, Richard Quyney of Stratford.⁶ In 1586 Jeffereys succeeded Henry Rogers of Sherborne as steward and town clerk of Stratford—to be in turn succeeded in 1603 by the 'Puritan knave', Shakespeare's cousin, Thomas Greene. Jeffereys, of whom Fisher says 'he might be reckoned *qui interturbat omnia*', helped Brooke to avoid arrest by bringing against him, in collusion with him and the Undersheriff and the above Thomas Staunton, a writ of execution for £200 on the tithes both of Myton and Snitterfield. Brooke claimed the latter, in virtue, apparently, of a loan upon them, against Robert Sheldon and others, and pursued his claim with the reckless tenacity he had exhibited at Myton. Fisher says :

'He hath been a breeder of many troubles . . . and hath and yet doth maintain divers masterless men, brawlers and fighters,

¹ *Black Book of Warwick*, pp. 285-95.

² *Ib.* 303.

³ *Register*, II. ii. 41.

⁴ *Dugdale*, p. 507.

⁵ 'Survey', Morice MS.

⁶ *Master Richard Quyny*, 184-7.

encouraging them to make quarrels, frays and bloodshed, as well within the liberties of this borough' of Warwick 'as in the Fields of Snitterfield against Robert Sheldon and others to the hazard of some of their lives'.¹

Would that Fisher had told us of the riotous doings at Snitterfield as of those at Myton! We should have known more of Henry Shakespeare, who was certainly an accomplice of Brooke. He refused to pay his tithe to Master Sheldon and pleaded, on 22 November 1580, that he had 'compounded with Master Richard Brooke of Warwick for the said moiety, who, he did believe, was owner thereof'.² The plea was unsuccessful (whence we may assume the failure of Brooke's and Jeffereys' device), for Henry Shakespeare was excommunicated in Snitterfield Church on Sunday, 5 November 1581, and, as he still declined to pay, pronounced *contumax* on 22 May 1582.

The extent of his land in the parish of Snitterfield may be calculated from depositions (made 14 March 1581) of witnesses that in the harvest of 1580 he carried ten wain-loads of wheat, munge-corn, and rye, ten of oats and barley, and ten of peas, valued respectively at 15s. or 16s., 9s. or 10s., and 7s. or 8s. the load.

On 10 June 1582 (which was Trinity Sunday), notwithstanding the excommunication of 22 May, his child Lettice was baptized in Hampton Lucy Church by the curate, probably, in the absence of the rector, who was Thomas Wilson, Dean of Worcester.

Eight days later Master Richard Brooke was expelled from the Warwick Council by the vote of the 'Principal Burgesses', which in Warwick were the Aldermen. 'Be it remembered', runs the minute in the Black Book,³ 'that this 18th day of June 1582 . . . it is agreed . . . the said Richard . . . shall be from henceforth none of the said Corporation but is by the

¹ *Black Book*, p. 372.

² *Outlines*, ii. 209.

³ *Black Book*, p. 367.

voices and deeds of these undernamed . . . and undersubscribed, denounced, declared, and put out of their fellowship.' Only one name is missing, that of Master John Greene, the host of the *Crown*, Brooke's friend, a supporter of Job Throgmorton (the Puritan squire of Haseley) in after-days, and a kinsman of Shakespeare's cousin, Thomas Greene. He did not vote; and the 'Assistant Burgesses', corresponding to the 'Principal Burgesses' at Stratford (but with less power), were not eligible to vote. Among the 'special causes' of this decision, besides the riots at Myton and Snitterfield, are the following:

'He hath not come to his parish church every Sunday at times of divine service and sermons but hath absented himself very often a month and more together; and many times being at or about home in the service and sermon times, hath frequented such company as have not resorted to the church nor come at sermons nor received the sacrament in many years together, whereby some doubts have and do rise of his religion.'

Even more significant, in the light of John Shakespeare's doings at this time, are the further offences:

*'His subtle shifts for keeping out of arrest, lying many months at London and at home in his own house, secretly under the guard of the Undersheriff of Middlesex, . . . his procuring and prosecuting of suits in the Star Chamber, . . . his denying and renouncing of his title, . . . his cunning device, as it is thought, in making a deed of gift of all his goods and chattels to his secret friends, and his promise to stand to the judgment of the Lord Dyer and Master Justice Meade . . . and yet in the mean season, or before that promise made, he had conveyed his title to John Jeffereys.'*¹

Such were the methods resorted to by better men than Master Brooke (though, we must remember, we only know him in the pages of his enemy), for public and not merely private ends.

¹ *Black Book*, pp. 371, 375, 376.

Another mark of contumacy in Henry Shakespede and of his connexion with a contumacious kindred is the fine of 8d. incurred by him at the Court Leet at Snitterfield on 25 October 1583, 'for not having and wearing caps on Sundays and Holy Days to the church according to the form of the statute'. He was far from alone in this offence. Henley, as we have seen,¹ was full of the guilty, and Rowington contained offenders. An informer who visited Stratford in 1577 to inspect the administration of the Act in the neighbourhood was compounded with by Alderman Richard Hill on behalf of the Corporation for 10s. 8d.² Rowington men did not get off so cheaply, as we learn from their churchwardens' account of that year:

'Item paid at Stratford for the Statute of Caps, 14s. 4d.'³

Nor was this all. Next year is the entry:

'Item at Stratford for Caps, 7s. 5d.'⁴

Again they were caught, in 1588:

'Item paid for the Statute of Caps, 3s. 7d.'⁵

At Warwick, on 9 November 1586, Thomas Greene (cousin of John Greene of the *Crown* but not yet, as John was, 'gentleman'), and his son, Thomas Greene the younger, future Steward of Stratford, were fined with others for persisting in wearing *hats*.⁶

Less admirable, if we understand the facts, was Henry Shakespeare's resistance to creditors. Once, as we have seen, he seriously involved his surety, who was his brother, John. In 1591, unable to obtain a surety, he went to prison, the Gaol in the High Street, Stratford. In 1596 he was defendant in a suit by John Tomlins of Corn Street. Henry Wilson was bail for him and the matter was settled by 27 October. A rumour, however, got abroad that he was again in prison, and one

¹ See above, p. 61 f.

² *Min. & Acc.* ii. 117.

³ Ryland, ii. 75.

⁴ *Ib.* ii. 78.

⁵ *Ib.* ii.

⁶ *John Fisher's Book* (Kemp), p. 155.

William Round came to his house and carried off two oxen, for the purchase of which he had stood surety to the vendor, John Blythe of Allesley. Henry Shakespeare was probably ill and dying. He had been fined on 22 October for absence from the Court Leet at Snitterfield, for a ditch out of repair, and failure to do his part with his team of horses in the mending of the highway on days appointed. He died at Christmas. William Meads,¹ 'who dwelled near him at Coleshall', understanding of his death called about two hours after, and found his wife, Margaret. Nobody else was in the house. His daughter, Lettice, and son, James (baptized at Hampton Lucy on 16 October 1585), were dead, as was his sister (if she was such), Joan. His widow died in February 1597. Wild stories were told, which she could have contradicted had she lived, of creditors ransacking the rooms, breaking open coffers, carrying off money and goods of 'a great value', corn and hay from the barn 'of a great value' and a mare from the stable. Meads denied these stories; to which we are indebted for the popular impression that the Poet's uncle was an eccentric fellow but, whatever his peculiarities and liabilities, did not die in a lean house.²

19. SHAKESPEARE'S UNCLE LAMBERT OF BARTON-ON-HEATH

FARTHEST away in residence, yet nearest in friendship for many years, of Shakespeare's relations seem to have been the Lamberts of Barton-on-Heath. Edmund Lambert, as we have seen, married Joan Arden, eldest but one of the sisters of the Poet's mother.³ They lived fifteen miles from Stratford, on the southern edge of the county, at its juncture with the three shires of Worcester, Gloucester, and Oxford, in a wild spot, called 'in march' from its border situation, or

¹ pp. 91-3.

² Stopes, *Shakespeare's Environment*, pp. 66-71.

³ p. 34.

'on Heath' from its barenness—such a stretch of 'barren ground' as would answer Gonzalo's description, 'ling, heath, broom, furze, anything'.¹ It was on the youthful poet's horizon beyond Brailes Hill—one of the tree-capp'd heights (757 feet) which served him for mountains—'turfy mountains, where live nibbling sheep';² for sunrise effects, as when

from under this terrestrial ball

He fires the proud tops of the eastern pines;³

for tempest, when the rudest wind

by the top doth take the mountain pine,

And make him stoop to the vale;⁴

and for both (a fine bit of description):

How bloodily the Sun begins to peer
Above yon bosky hill! the day looks pale
At his distemperature. The southern Wind
Doth play the trumpet to his purposes,
And by his hollow whistling in the leaves
Foretells a tempest and a blustering day.⁵

The Lamberts were well off, whatever the wild character of the neighbourhood, and richer than the Shakespeares, though we must allow much for the wonted language of the Chancery suit in 1597, in the bill of complaint by the Shakespeares, 'John Lambert is of great wealth and ability, and well friended and allied amongst gentlemen and freeholders of the country, in the said County of Warwick where he dwelleth, and your said orators are of small wealth and very few friends and alliance in the said County'.⁶ We can understand that Mary Shakespeare would look up to her older and wealthier sister. Mistress Lambert, we may be sure, stood godmother at the christening of Mary's first-born, Joan, in Stratford Church on

¹ This is undoubtedly the correct reading of *The Tempest*, I. i. 71 f.

² *Tempest*, IV. i. 62.

³ *Richard II*, III. ii. 41 f.

⁴ *Cymbeline*, IV. ii. 175 f.

⁵ *I Hen. IV*, v. i. 1-6.

⁶ *Outlines*, ii. 14 f.

15 September 1558, and again, after the death of this child, at the christening of the second Joan, on 15 April 1569. With the same certainty we may infer that Master Lambert acted as sponsor at the baptism of Mary Shakespeare's youngest child, Edmund, on 3 May 1580, when she and her family were in enjoyment of their extended premises in Henley Street, but her husband was 'malcontent', and hard hit financially for his religious (and political) contumacy. To Master Lambert Alderman Shakespeare had mortgaged 'Asbies' pending an arrangement with other parties, which was to come into operation on Thursday, 29 September 1580. When, however, on this day, the Alderman mounted his horse, and rode over to his brother-in-law's house at Barton, and tendered the £40 mortgage-money, to his astonishment, unless by this time he knew him better, Lambert both refused to receive it and to return the title-deeds, alleging as his excuse that he owed him 'other money'.¹ How other debts could affect this one it is difficult to see. Clearly in the eyes of John and Mary Shakespeare their kinsman acted illegally, and if we may believe their version of the story, he evidently took advantage of the Alderman's perilous situation as a recusant and defiant delinquent in the matter of the Queen's Peace to retain possession of a family property which he may have thought in jeopardy and, not to say, unjustly inherited by the youngest of his wife's family. What else transpired on that memorable Thursday we can only conjecture, but from that day there was a breach of friendship. John Shakespeare had to bide his time. Lambert died in April 1587 and was succeeded by his son, John, who may have been John Shakespeare's godson. This double relationship would intensify the bitterness in subsequent proceedings by John and Mary Shakespeare, supported by their son (*simul cum Willielmo Shakespere*), for the recovery of the property. On 26 September John Lambert at Stratford agreed to give £20 for his

¹ *Outlines*, ii. 11, 16.

retention of the farm; but, failing to pay, he was visited at Barton on 1 September 1588 by John Shakespeare,¹ who impressed on him the necessity of fulfilling his promise. Still Lambert did not pay, and in the Michaelmas term 1589 the Shakespeares filed an action in the Queen's Bench. The suit hung on, to the disadvantage of the claimants, until in 1599 they apparently abandoned it.² There is little doubt that Shakespeare vented his feeling in the matter against his cousin in his reference in *The Taming of the Shrew*—a play full of local colour—to *Old Sly's son of Barton-on-Heath*.³ This was in 1595, two years after the death of his aunt, Joan, in November 1593.

20. CHARLECOTE

HAMPTON LUCY Church, where Henry Shakespeare's children were christened, had memories of Protestant outspokenness from the days of Latimer. A sermon by the rector, Edward Large, an advocate of the 'New Learning', on 2 April 1537, raised a storm of passion which brought the bishop to Stratford. The occasion was a wedding between a maid of Hampton Lucy and 'a man of good substance' of Stratford, and the day was Easter Monday, when the 'church-ale' was in progress. The church was crowded, and the rector unburdened himself, in a two hours' delivery in the afternoon, on doctrines for which he had an evil reputation in Stratford. In the congregation were the Bailiff of Stratford and John Combe and Mistress Lucy of Charlecote. Squire William Lucy himself was not present, being sick, else his rector 'never preached but he heard him'. A Stratford man, Richard Cotton, interrupted the preacher, and doing his best, as it was reported, to set the people by the ears, exposed himself to the grave charge in those days of 'making a riot'. Stratford was full of the matter weeks after, and Squire William Clopton of

¹ *Outlines*, ii. 12.

² 204 f.

³ Induction, ii. 19. Such ebullitions are common in Art, if not inseparable from it. Dante of course is full of them.



SNITTERFIELD CHURCH



HAMPTON LUCY OLD CHURCH

From engraving by Gerald Morris



CHARLECOTE OLD CHURCH

From an old print

Clopton took up the cudgels for Cotton energetically. Large was indicted at Warwick on 10 April for heresy. Thomas Badger, whom we have seen at Stratford and Bidford Grange,¹ was foreman of the jury, which, without oath or witness, returned a verdict of guilty and sent the preacher to prison. Lucy now bestirred himself actively in defence of his rector. He obtained a letter from Lord Cromwell to the Undersheriff to release him until the sessions on 29 May: on which date the case was postponed to the autumn. A Commission, consisting of Lucy and Combe and John Greville of Milcote, held an inquiry on 2 July. Cotton acknowledged his error, and was about to be despatched to Warwick Gaol when Badger disclosed a second bill of indictment of Large, drawn up by Clopton that morning. Among the signatories were Thomas Dickson *alias* Waterman of the *Swan* and John Jeffreys of the *Crown*. Clopton said, roundly, that all Hampton would substantiate the charges, were they not afraid of their landlord. Lucy replied, 'it were a pity to belie the devil'; and Combe pointed to signatories who had told him after the sermon that 'they never heard a better'. This was evidence of fear of Clopton. On the plea of the Bailiff, and the 'breaking' of the second bill, Dickson and Jeffreys (whose testimony was contradictory), were let off, and Lucy undertook to ask Bishop Latimer to release Cotton after public confession in the market-place of Stratford. Next day, which was Tuesday, Lucy and Clopton met at supper at Milcote. Clopton said he would 'rather lie in prison till his feet rotted than be put to open shame in the Stratford market-place'. 'For such an offence', said Lucy, 'he could demand no less of a brother.' 'If he were my brother', said Clopton, 'and I would tell him that tale, he would thrust his dagger in me.' On Wednesday Greville and Combe dined with Lucy at Charlecote—old Charlecote House, which Leland saw in 1542 on his ride from Warwick to Stratford, 'an ancient manor-

¹ p. 46.

place on the left ripe of Avon.'¹ When dinner was wellnigh over, about half-past twelve or one, Squire Clopton arrived. Fulke Greville of Beauchamp Court, younger brother of John, was present, and he discoursed with Clopton while the Commissioners, in an upper chamber, drew up their report for Cromwell. This done, they descended to find Clopton gone. Lucy, walking in the garden with Fulke Greville, explained to him the view of the Commissioners; and Greville sent to Clopton at Clopton House to return and speak with him further. But Clopton was busy that day, and Thursday (which was market-day in Stratford), preparing a third indictment of Large. He requested the townsmen to sign it, at the Gild Chapel, which his forbear, Sir Hugh, had rebuilt forty years since, and to which he felt something of a proprietary right. A 'great sort' signed, but not Richard Lightfoot, baker in Sheep Street, an alderman of the Gild. Twice and thrice Clopton sent for him and said, 'For so much as you are my tenant, I trust you will do as your neighbours.' Lightfoot inquired the terms of the bill, and Clopton said

'that the priest should² preach that *Christ did not die for us now in life but only for them that died before His Incarnation*; and furthermore, *Who put Christ to death but the peers of the realm in those days that were high and learned men, both spiritual and temporal?* and *If Christ were now alive he should die as cruel a death, as you see how their heads go off now daily.*'

Lightfoot denied having heard such words. Clopton said: 'You will not put your hand unto this bill for Master Combe's sake, because he will make you Master of the Gild.' 'No', said Lightfoot, 'I will belie no man falsely', and he departed.

Master Lucy returning home about five o'clock that Thursday evening, after 'making merry in a neighbouring town' with John and Fulke Greville, was met at Charlecote by Combe, full of Clopton's fresh endeavour. The same evening Lucy re-

¹ *Itinerary*, Toulmin Smith, ii. 48.

² did.

mounted his horse and, accompanied by John Greville, rode into Stratford to interview Lightfoot. Next morning he rode towards London. Latimer was at Strand House, busy on his *Bishops' Book*, in the midst of plague, when Lucy, on or about 9 July, called upon him, on his way to the Lord Privy Seal. Four days later the squire of Charlecote was back on the banks of the Avon, with Cromwell's instructions in his pocket. These he read next day, Saturday, 14 July, to Greville and Combe at Milcote. It was agreed that Combe, with a company of Stratford men, should bring Cotton from Warwick Gaol next morning to Hampton Lucy Church; where, mass being said, the culprit did 'acknowledge and confess' his 'seditious words', and was set at liberty. In the afternoon Greville and Combe, in the absence of Lucy, examined the parishioners, whether they had heard the rector preach as reported, who answered, 'Never'.¹

Clopton, however, was not to be beaten by Charlecote. The indictment went forward, and Large had to defend himself at the Assizes in August. Sir Anthony Fitzherbert (one of the Judges who condemned Anne Boleyn in May 1536) was on the bench. He was no lover of Cromwell. When Lucy proffered the deposition of the Hampton parishioners, he was pulled up sharply. He had not heard the sermon: what had he to do with it? The case was one of treason and outside episcopal jurisdiction.

To Latimer at Hartlebury now rode the indefatigable Lucy for a letter to Cromwell, who was with the King (Henry VIII) at Grafton. This letter we have, and we rejoice to have it:

'And, Sir, as touching all matters in the petition of this Master Lucy, he himself shall be my letters unto your good lordship. Only I desire you so to use him, as far as may stand with right, that his goodwill toward all goodness may be encouraged by communing with you and promoted by hearing of you. There

¹ Report of William Lucy and other Commissioners (*Athenaeum*, 18 April 1857).

be too few such gentlemen in the King's realm. And he can open to you altogether as to the priest of Hampton's judgment, what proceedings it had. I would wish better judgments to be in some of the King's judges, and more *prepense* favour toward reformation of things amiss in religion.'¹

It is dated *Postridie Laurentii*, i.e. 6 September. From Pershore, on visitation, Latimer wrote to Cromwell on 6 October:

'I doubt nothing but that your good lordship will extend your goodness to that poor priest, Sir Large, in my conscience injured and wronged by means of one Master Clopton, which neither did hear him nor if he had could judge his doctrine, but zealously for lack of right judgment stirred the people against him; as Master Neville can tell you, whom I do make my letters to you at this time. And thus I commit good Master Lucy to your goodness and his whole cause.'²

Proceeding to Stratford, Latimer no doubt was welcomed by the customary ringing of the bells, and preached in the usual crowded church. From Warwick, whither he continued his visitation, he wrote on the 14th to Cromwell thanking him for restoring Large to his rectory:

'As to Sir Large, your commandement shall be done: whose cause in my mind your lordship doth judge rightly—malice to be in one part and simplicity in the other. But God shall reward you that will not suffer malice to prevail.'³

In November he wrote to Cromwell on behalf of a gentleman of his diocese, active on the Protestant side, who interests us almost as much as Master Lucy:

'This bearer, Master Acton, my godsib and friend, hath something to say to your lordship. He is faithful and hearty in all good causes, no man more ready to serve God and the King, and your lordship's hearty lover to his power. There is one Anthony Throgmorton, servant, as they say, to Master Pole,

¹ *S. P. Dom. Henry VIII*, xlii. 482.

² *Ib.* 486.

³ *Ib.* 484.

cardinal. If he be the King's true subject, well and tail; if not, I would Master Robert Acton, the King's true and faithful subject and servant, had his thing at Winch, for it lieth very commodiously for him; and then, as he is always willing, so he should be more able to do his Grace service.'¹

Anthony Throgmorton, son of Sir Robert of Coughton, and brother of Sir George who succeeded his father at Coughton, was suspected to be with his brother, Michael, in the service of Cardinal Pole in Rome, and his property at Winchcombe was in danger of being confiscated.

Master Acton, Latimer's 'godsb and friend', was Thomas Acton of Sutton Park, Tenbury, in Worcestershire, great-great-grandson of Sir Roger Acton the Lollard martyr, who was hanged and burned in St. Giles' Fields in 1414 for complicity in the so-called 'plot' of Sir John Oldcastle. Thomas Acton's mother was a niece of Tyndale's London protector, Humfrey Monmouth. Robert Acton, with his eye on Anthony Throgmorton's estate at 'Winch', was a younger brother of Thomas, residing near Latimer at Elmley Lovett, near Hartlebury. Thomas Acton at this time had an only child, Joyce, two or three years of age, who lived to marry Master Lucy's eldest son, Thomas, now five and a half years old. Out of respect for Joyce Acton as Lady Lucy of Charlecote, descendant of the friend and fellow martyr of Sir John Oldcastle, Shakespeare, shortly after her death, changed the name, we may believe, of his 'pampered glutton' to 'Falstaff'.

William Lucy and his wife, Anne Fermor of Easton Neston, had twelve children, born in the years 1532-49, and not having 'necessary means' for himself and his family, he was unable, before his death in 1551, to pay the debts and legacies of his father, Sir Thomas Lucy, who died in 1525. He did not send his sons to the University but had a tutor for them at Charlecote, who was no less a person than John Foxe, famous afterwards as

¹ *Ib.* 495.

author of *The Book of Martyrs*. Foxe had a friend at Coventry who assisted him to Oxford, Master Humfrey Randall, whose daughter, Agnes, was in the service of Mistress Lucy at Charlecote. Through the Randalls Foxe may have obtained the tutorship of Squire Lucy's sons (and daughters?) on his leaving Magdalen (William Tyndale's old College) in the summer of 1545. Eighteen months later, on 3 February 1547, he married Agnes Randall in Charlecote Church—old Charlecote Church, less than a mile from the church of Hampton Lucy. On 10 August of this year a marriage settlement was made between his pupil, Thomas, aged fourteen, and Joyce Acton, aged twelve. The marriage was not consummated at the time of her father's decease on 2 January 1547, nor until the young bridegroom was within sight of his eighteenth birthday, 24 April 1550, when he was to receive £40 a year. Thomas Lucy had hardly reached this age and independence when he lost his mother, who was buried in Charlecote Church on 12 July, leaving a baby, Edward (probably named after the Protestant king, Edward VI), a twelvemonth old. His own first child, Anne, was baptized in Charlecote Church on 1 September.

Squire William Lucy¹ did not long survive the death of his wife. He signed his will on 23 June 1551, died on the 24th, and this same day was buried in Charlecote Church, doubtless with the simplicity that accorded with his puritan principles, his straitened purse, and remarkable absence of all religious preamble to his last testament.² He was in the prime of life, aged forty-one.

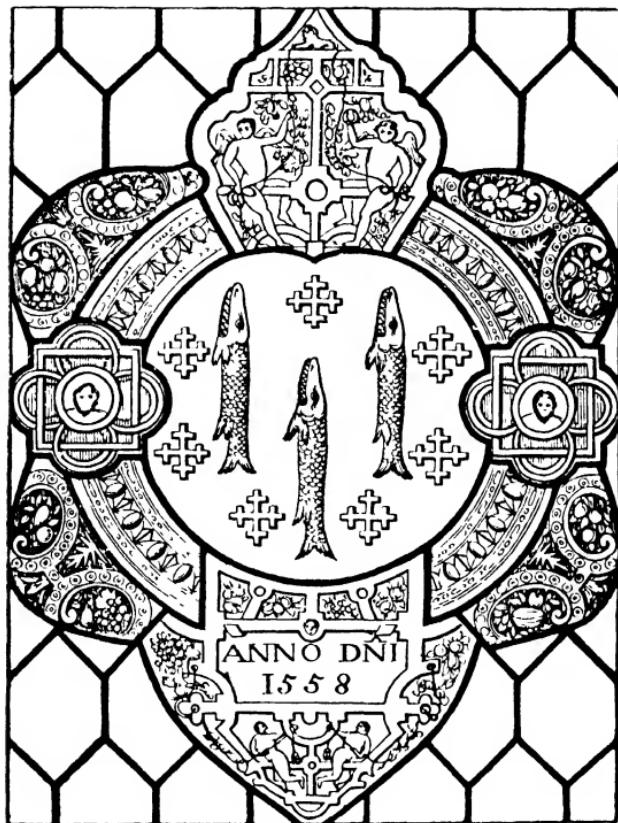
21. SIR THOMAS LUCY

LIKE his father, young Lucy was an aggressive Protestant—L in the language of later generations, a 'puritan' and a 'roundhead'. In Mary's reign he befriended local Protestant clergy. On the accession of Queen Elizabeth he rebuilt

¹ He was never a knight. ² Inq. p. m. 5 Edw. VI, Ser. ii, vol. 94 (89).



CHARLECOTE HOUSE AND GATEHOUSE



WINDOW AT CHARLECOTE WITH LUCY ARMS

Thomas Lucy,

One of Sir Thomas Lucy's signatures to the Certificate of Recusants of October 1592, in which he and his brother Magistrates show such leniency to Stratford Offenders, including old Alderman John Shakespeare, the Poet's father

Charlecote House in her honour, on the ground-plan of an E. In 1566 the Queen knighted him in his new house. He was in high favour with her early bishops—Sandys of Worcester reported him ‘a favourer of true Religion’, Bentham of Lichfield and Coventry ‘a good man and meet in Religion’. He enjoyed the powerful friendship of the Dudleys. A letter is extant in which he commends to Sir Robert, not yet Earl of Leicester (the date of it seems to be 8 April 1564: just before Shakespeare’s birth), a skilful archer, ‘my servant Burnell, able to shoot with the best’. If he had little taste for hunting, he cared for archery as a patriotic and military exercise. Again and again before the Armada the Privy Council commanded the practice of shooting and the furnishing of butts. Lucy was a gentleman after Ascham’s heart—trained in ‘the Book and the Bow’—in his Bible and his weapon, in head and hand, ‘a scholar and a soldier’, ‘a thinker and a statesman. Such was the early Elizabethan ideal. He could build a beautiful house and entertain there guests like the famous puritan schoolmaster (who taught Philip Sidney and Fulke Greville Calvin’s *Catechism*), Thomas Ashton of Shrewsbury. And like Ashton, he was a friend of the early Elizabethan drama. His old tutor, Foxe, with whom we find him at the *Ditcher of Bramley* play at Banbury in 1555,² wrote a religious drama, published at Basle in 1556, *Christus Triumphans*, an attack on Rome and the papacy. Lucy patronized such drama, antagonistic to Pope, ‘Monsieur’ (the French Catholic suitor to the hand of Elizabeth), Whitgift, or Philip II of Spain. He even gave his name, and whatever else, to a company of players in the exciting time, religious and political, before the Armada. In the Chamberlains’ account at Coventry for 1584 is the item:

‘And to Sir Thomas Lucy’s players x^s.’

And throughout the Queen’s reign, until his death in 1600, he

¹ *Merch. of Venice*, I. ii. 124; Lodge, *Rosalynde*, Dedication.

² *Minutes and Accounts of Stratford*, II, pp. xxix f.

retained, by his common sense and tact, whatever his dislike of Whitgift, the full confidence of the Privy Council. We find him on commissions of every kind—for musters, for subsidy, for 'provision' for the royal carriage and household, for recusancy, for repair of the highways and bridges, for hearing of complaints in Chancery, for the safe keeping (at Charlecote) of an heiress from her lover, for the chasing of Jesuits (in which he was more at home than in the chasing of deer or hares), the search of their hiding-places, the arrest, examination and despatch to the Court of suspected persons.

More than once he rendered conspicuous service to the Crown. Whitgift had hardly left his Worcester diocese, in the autumn of 1583, when Romanist sedition, nursed by his espionage and persecution, burst into flames. On 25 October John Somerville of Edstone, a young squire, late at Oxford, now married to Margaret Arden, a kinswoman of Shakespeare's mother, daughter of Edward and Mary Arden of Park Hall, fired by the fanaticism of the Ardens and their priest, Hugh Hall, set out from his house, six miles north of Stratford, for London, with the intention of shooting the heretical Queen. He was arrested next day near Aynho, between Banbury and Bicester, and taken to Oxford, whence he was conveyed to the Tower. On 31st a warrant was issued for the apprehension of 'such as shall be in any way akin to all touched, and to search their houses'. On 2 November the Clerk of the Privy Council, Thomas Wilkes, arrived at Charlecote, to investigate and co-operate with Sir Thomas Lucy for the capture of those implicated. For fifteen days he was at Charlecote or in the neighbourhood. On 3 November, which was Sunday, with Lucy, old Edward Aglionby, and Ralph Griffin (first master of Leicester's Hospital in Warwick), he raided Park Hall (20 miles from Charlecote) and took Master and Mistress Arden prisoners. Thence, with Lucy and Griffin, he proceeded to Edward Grant's house, Northbrook, in Snitterfield; while

Aglionby, with Robert Burgoyné (the puritan squire of Wroxall, and, as already said, intimate of that champion of presbyterianism, the second master of Leicester's Hospital, Whitgift's *bête noire*, Thomas Cartwright),¹ rode after the priest Hall to Idlicote (nine miles south of Stratford), the home of that 'stubborn' Catholic, William Underhill, owner of Shakespeare's future New Place. On 7 November Wilkes wrote from Charlecote to Walsingham:

'Unless you can make Somerville, Arden, Hall the priest, Somerville's wife and his sister, to speak directly to those things which you desire to have discovered, it will not be possible for us here to find out more, . . . for that the papists in this country greatly do work upon the advantage of clearing their houses of all shows of suspicion.'²

Somerville and the Ardens, with Hall, were indicted at Warwick on 2 December, and tried at the Gild Hall, London, on the 16th and found guilty. Mary Arden (the Poet's mother's namesake) was pardoned, but her husband was executed at Smithfield on the 20th. The previous evening Somerville hanged himself in Newgate.

Henry Rogers, who lived in Sherburn, Town Clerk of Stratford and agent of Sir Thomas Lucy, assisted the latter and Wilkes in their search for incriminating 'books and writings'. For his services he received 6s. at St. James's on 20 November. If, as is probable, Shakespeare was in his employment, he may have had a hand in this, for him painful, not to say humiliating, business. Alderman Shakespeare, when the request was made for the impalement of his coat of arms with that of Arden, refused to have relationship with the traitorous Park Hall.³

¹ This is more than twenty years before his apprehension of Sugar at Rowington: see p. 79. ² *S. P. Dom. Eliz.* clxiii. 54. See p. 72.

³ The *ermine fess checky* of the Park Hall arms was struck out and the *three cross crosslets fitché* of Simon Arden, the only Protestant of the family, was substituted.

Again, Lucy and Rogers distinguished themselves in the raid on Hindlip Hall in August 1586. This was the residence of the Habingtons, the Catholic family implicated in the Babington conspiracy. It stood on a hill, and was not easy for an enemy to approach unobserved. It was honeycombed, moreover, with secret chambers and passages, 'a place as fit for to harbour a priest as any is in England'. After Gunpowder Plot the Jesuit Garnet escaped detection for a week in its recesses. Lucy and Rogers were more successful than Garnet's pursuers in their chase of Edward and Thomas Habington. The former they captured outside the house in a haystack. There was great excitement in the district, and in Stratford, whence 'posts' were despatched by Bailiff Tyler with messages. Church-bells rang and bonfires blazed at 'the taking of the traitors'. Rogers conducted his prisoners to Court in triumph, and received the handsome reward of £20. Sir Thomas Lucy, as 'a gentleman of worship', had the honour of her Majesty's gracious acceptance of his pains taken, with their lordships' hearty thanks of the Privy Council.

The life of a landlord magistrate in the reign of Elizabeth, if he did his duty, was no sinecure. Shakespeare's Lucy had neither mind nor time for the comfortable paternal existence of his grandson in the degenerate times of James I and Charles I. He was constantly at the call of neighbours, as well as statesmen, as advisor, mediator, or friend in any delicate negotiation. Scores of times he was in Stratford at the invitation of the Borough Council, and all he received was the customary gift of wine and sugar at the *Bear* or *Swan*. Twice he served as High Sheriff, and twice as Member of Parliament for the shire. In 1571 he sat on a committee in the Commons for the 'purging of the Prayer-book, and freeing it of superstitious ceremonies, as the sign of the cross in baptism', and on a joint conference with the Lords 'touching the bill against priests disguising themselves in serving men's apparel'. In 1585 he

was active in behalf of 'recusant preachers' (like his own rector of Hampton Lucy and other ministers in Warwickshire) and in prosecution of the notorious Doctor Parry. He must have been a leader after Shakespeare's father's heart. In the Armada time he was to the front with Sir Fulke Greville (father of Sidney's friend) and Sir John Harrington, on commissions for musketry (archery was in decline) and musters, reviews of the trained men, and despatch of one hundred horsemen for Tilbury on 4 August 1588: 'We for our parts,' they wrote, 'will not be behind, even to the very utmost that we can by lands, goods or credit.' In 1592, when Whitgift and his 'trotting paritors', as Shakespeare calls them, were gathering in the names of those who resented his ecclesiastical polity, Lucy, with other local justices, reported leniently of neighbours, Catholic and Protestant, conspicuous for their absence from church—such as the Cloptons and Master John Shakespeare.

We must note the Poet's honour to the house of Lucy in *The First Part of Henry the Sixth*. He introduces an ancestor of Sir Thomas, barely mentioned in his literary authority, Hall's *Chronicle*, and gives him heroic prominence. Sir William Lucy, who 'adhered', says Dugdale, 'to the House of York in those turbulent times', died at Charlecote in 1492, bequeathing his body 'to be buried in the chancel of the parish church of Stratford-upon-Avon'—Shakespeare's future burial-place. The dramatist more than once makes him his mouthpiece, as in iv. iii. 47-52:

While the vulture of sedition
Feeds in the bosom of such great commanders,
Sleeping neglection doth betray to loss
The conquest of our scarce-cold conqueror,
Henry the Fifth.

And again, iv. iv. 36 f:

The fraud of England, not the force of France,
Hath now entrapp'd the noble-minded Talbot.

bought and sold Lord Talbot
Drops bloody sweat from his war-wearied limbs;
You, his false hopes,
Keep off aloof with worthless emulation.

And Joan of Arc says of the master of Charlecote, iv. vii, 87 f:

I think this upstart is old Talbot's ghost,
He speaks with such a proud commanding spirit.

Talbot's statuette Shakespeare would have seen on the Beau-champ tomb in Warwick.

Sir Thomas Lucy died at the height of his reputation on 7 July 1600. The thanks of the Privy Council to him on 3 February previous, for his services in providing troops for Ireland, when others were severely reprimanded for negligence, are a fitting life-tribute:

‘We perceive the care and speedy course you took, according to the direction given by Her Majesty. We have good cause to note your diligence and endeavour, your labour and travail.’¹

Lady Lucy died before him, on 10 February 1596, and was buried in Charlecote Church. He was laid by her side on 7 August 1600, Camden attending the funeral as Clarencieux Herald and superintending the ceremony. Their effigies from death-masks are full of character. Death has smoothed her face and given us something of her early beauty. His countenance is almost grim in its earnestness. No record of his virtues is on the monument, but his testimony to her is there—‘a true and faithful servant of her good God, never detected of any crime or vice, in religion most sound, in love to her husband most faithful and true, . . . greatly esteemed of her betters,

¹ P.C. Acts xxx. 39. What ‘a thrice-double ass’ Shakespeare would have been to gibe, at this moment, as some would have us believe, at Lucy before the Court in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (though in a shape nobody would recognize.)



SIR THOMAS LUCY, 1532-1600

From his effigy in Charlecote Church



JOYCE ACTON, LADY LUCY, †1596

From her effigy in Charlecote Church

misliked of none unless of the envious'. Among her few 'bettters' in Warwickshire were the Dudleys; among the 'envious', no doubt, was her daughter's husband, Sir Edward Aston of Tixhall in Staffordshire, who pronounced her 'vixen'. We have not Lady Lucy's pronouncement on her son-in-law. Her only son, Thomas, was 43 at his father's death and also a knight, married to a second wife, Constance Kingsmill, and father by her to a third successive Thomas Lucy, aged 15.

The son made his will¹ on 13 August 1600 (a week after his father's funeral), from which we gather some particulars of the contents of Charlecote House and stables:

'I give unto my son and heir, Thomas Lucy, the gilt bason and ewer graven which was my father's, together with the two gilded engraven livery-pots, and a nest of gilded bowls, with a cover, and a gilded salt, together with a dozen of gilded spoons, . . . and my best horse and furniture at his choice . . . and my French and Italian books.

'I give unto every one of my daughters now unmarried one hundred marks to be made either in a chain, carcanet or jewel as they or their nearest friends shall think most meet'

a carcanet (spelt 'carkanett') being a necklace, like Adriana's in *The Comedy of Errors*, called a 'chain', made by the goldsmith Angelo and costing 'two hundred ducats';² an emblem of wealth, worn only on state occasions, as in Shakespeare's sonnet:

So am I as the rich, whose blessed key
 Can bring him to his sweet up-locked treasure,
 The which he will not every hour survey
 For blunting the fine point of seldom pleasure.
 Therefore are feasts so solemn and so rare,
 Since seldom coming, in the long year set,
 Like stones of worth they thinly placed are,
 Or captain jewels in the carcanet.³

¹ P. C. C. 77 Hayes.

² III. i. 4; IV. iv. 138; v. i. 10-17, 256-8.

³ *Sonnets*, 52. Shakespeare apparently wrote 'carconet'.

To his son Richard, Lucy left his 'second-best horse and furniture', to 'his trusty and true servant', Thomas Gwilliam, £40 and one of his 'best trotting geldings', to the overseer of his will, his 'most loving father-in-law, Richard Kingsmill esquire', his 'best ambling gelding'.

Shakespeare was familiar enough with these distinctions. His Rosalind says (a good young horsewoman), 'I'll tell you who Time ambles withal, who Time trots withal, who Time gallops withal, and who he stands still withal.'¹

This Lucy was not of the calibre of his father. Succeeding at Charlecote in 1600 he was elected High Sheriff, and promptly fell out with Stratford by his support of the extortionate lord of the manor, Sir Edward Greville of Milcote, in his action for 'riot' against the corporation for the defence of their common lands. The Bailiff wrote of him to Shakespeare's friend, Richard Quyney, in London on 17 June 1601,² 'Upon occasion lately happened myself and some other of our Company were with him, but find no hope of favour at his hands, but rather have cause to fear his displeasure.'³ Even more significant of a change at Charlecote is a severe letter from the Privy Council, censuring him, on 7 October, at their meeting at Richmond, for 'disobedience' and 'conceit' and 'partiality' in the election of members for Warwickshire to Parliament—summoned to meet on the 27th. 'If we were not informed', their lordships add, 'of your evil health at this time, we would not forbear to call you presently⁴ before us to make answer for so great a contempt.'⁵ This was enough to make old Lucy turn in his grave. His son subsequently made it up with Stratford, the corporation in a body presenting him with fish and a cake at Charlecote on 16 November 1604, voting him on 14 December a keg of sturgeon for the New Year, and being entertained in the in-

¹ *As You L. I.* III. ii. 327-30.

² Five days before John Shakespeare of Rowington's raid on Bushwood Common: p. 78 f.

⁴ immediately.

³ *Master Richard Quyn*, p. 178 f.

⁵ P.C. Acts xxxii. 247 f.

terval by him on 28 December at a dinner at Charlecote, which cost them in gratuities 'to the usher of the hall, the yeoman of the pantry, the butler and the cook, 2s. 6d. apiece, and to the porter, 2s.'¹ He made some mark, also, as a 'Parliament man' before his early death at Charlecote, on 16 July 1605.²

The grandson does not impress us, though in his way he cut a figure in the county. After matriculation at Oxford he entered Lincoln's Inn, was knighted before his father's death, travelled with that young scholar, sportsman and duellist, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, was praised by Davies in *The Scourge of Folly* as 'a bright spark of wit and courage', married a daughter of Thomas Spencer of Althorpe, settled down as a domesticated, fatherly, cultivated squire, enlarged his estate, enclosed land for game (though he cared far more for horses than for deer), kept a good table at which scholars and theologians were welcomed, looked after sick servants and tenants and gave alms at his gate, and played his mild part at home and in Parliament.³ He died before the outbreak of the Civil War, on 10 December 1640, was buried at Charlecote on 20 January, Robert Harris of Hanwell preaching the sermon,⁴ and was succeeded immediately as Recorder of Stratford by a much robuster man, an early and able leader in the war, Robert Lord Brooke of Warwick.⁵

This Sir Thomas Lucy was the first to have a deer park at Charlecote for a hundred years. His great-great-grandfather and namesake possessed in 1510 'one park' and 'sevral fisheries in the Avon'.⁶ In June 1525 his steward wrote from Charlecote to her ladyship 'at St. Giles-in-the-Field beside London', sending her venison, and added that a 'buck killed for Master Nethermill

¹ Chamberlains' Account, 11 Jan. 1605.

² Chamberlain to Winwood 12 October 1605.

³ See the florid inscription on his tomb. His weak features appear in miniature portraits preserved at Charlecote.

⁴ *Shakespeare's Stratford*, p. 72 n. ⁵ Council Meeting, 11 December

⁶ Inq. p. m. II, vol. 43, 50, Trin. Term. 17 Hen. VII.

had an ill liver' and he 'doubted of more'.¹ This park, if it was that afterwards known as the 'Old Park',² was on the right bank of the Avon, in the parish of Hampton Lucy. It suffered dispalement, as did the neighbouring park of Fulbrooke (which Sir Thomas Lucy's ancestor owned for a few years),³ in the disturbed epoch of the Reformation. Leland, who had an eye for a park and saw and admired what was left of Fulbrooke in 1542, does not mention a park at Charlecote.⁴ In the interesting tapestry-map of Warwickshire, woven at Barcheston in 1588,⁵ all that is visible of a park at Charlecote is on the left bank of the Avon, marked by a paling on the north-east of the house connecting the Avon with the Dene, the stream from Wellesbourne. Such an enclosure might serve for mares and foals—not for deer, which would soon be over the water inflicting damage on crops and pasture.⁶ This impalement has disappeared from the map of 1603. William Lucy, with his serious bent and large family, had neither taste nor money for sport.⁷ His son, Sir Thomas, Shakespeare's Lucy, more keen, as we have seen, on chasing a priest than a bird or beast, was blest with a rich wife, and probably had his venison from her park at Sutton near Tenbury, brought by the keeper over the back of a horse. Sutton, forty miles from Charlecote, was much

¹ Richard Cocks to Lady Lucy, 23 June 1525.

² See 'Rent Roll of the Manor of Hampton Lucy' (c. 1670) at the Birthplace.

³ In and after 1510.

⁴ 'I rode from Warwick to Barford bridge, of eight fair arches, a two miles of Warwick: here I saw, half a mile lower, upon Avon on the right ripe by north, a fair park called Fulbrooke. In this park was a pretty Castle of stone and brick . . . This castle was an eye-sore to the Earls that lay in Warwick Castle, and was cause of displeasure between each lord. Sir William Compton, keeper of Fulbrooke Park and Castle, seeing it going to ruin, helped it forward, taking part of it, as some say, for the building of his house at Compton by Brailes in Warwickshire, and gave or permitted others to take pieces of it down' (Toulmin Smith, ii. 48).

⁵ See Illustration.

⁶ Deer-park impalement was of tall rustic oak stakes, specimens of which may still be seen in the neighbourhood of Stratford.

⁷ p. 112 f.

nearer than St. Giles-in-the-Field beside London. There were deer at Sutton in 1610 when Lucy the grandson exhibited a bill in the Star Chamber against poachers.¹ In May 1618 this gentleman of comparative leisure obtained a patent from King James to impale, as elsewhere on his estates, 'the *parcum vocatum* Charlecote Park in *Comitatu Warwicensi*' and 'the *parcum vocatum* Sutton Park in *Comitatu Wigorniensi*', with fisheries and swanneries, as well as enclosures for hares and pheasants.² In 1631, after his renovation and restocking of Fulbrooke and addition to it of Hampton Woods,³ he presented the Stratford Corporation with a buck for their annual Election-feast.⁴ This was the first gift of the kind from a Lucy.

22. JOAN LEWIS AND GEORGE SCALES OF CHARLECOTE

THE Lucys were not the only inhabitants of Charlecote. We must notice Mistress Joan Lewis, widow, who died in July 1597, a month after her son-in-law, Thomas Horniblow, yeoman. Her maiden name was Dadd (or Dodd) and she had a brother John, of Cassington near Woodstock. She received an annuity of 20 nobles (£6 13*s.* 4*d.*) out of the parsonage of Bircott, in the parish of Dorchester, in Oxfordshire. She owned also pictures and furniture in a house there, probably the parsonage-house, including the glass in the windows, the wainscot, a table, stools, and a press in the 'hall', and three bedsteads. Apparently she was the second wife of Master Lewis, by whom she had two sons and three daughters. In 1597 her son Edmund had three sons; her daughter Elizabeth, married to Thomas Horniblow, had one son; her daughter Alice, wife of Master Richard Pilson, had three sons and six daughters; and her third

¹ *Outlines*, ii. 386.

² Patent Roll, 16 James I, Pt. ii. 13.

³ Dugdale, ed. Thomas, ii. 669.

⁴ 'To Sir Thomas Lucie his keeper for his fee and in wyne bestooed on hym whereas hee browght us a buck, o. 12*s.* 6*d.*: doubtless for the Corporation Buck Feast in Oct. 1632. (*Misc. Doc.* xiii. 96.)

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daughter, wife of Master William Finmore, had one son. Thus England's population grew in spite of epidemics. The Horniblows lived, perhaps with her, at Charlecote. Her comfortable farmhouse contained the usual bedsteads and bedding (4 feather-beds, 1 flock-bed, 10 bolsters, 6 blankets, 18 pairs of sheets, coverlets—'the green', 'the Image',¹ 'the byrded',² 'the Arras', 'the old Arras'—pillows and bed-tick), cushions ('white' and 'gold'), linen (including 12 'newest napkins'), chests, chairs and other furniture, kitchen utensils, and silver spoons, a goblet, a beaker, a 'bell-salt', and a 'stone-cup dressed with silver'. The most interesting of her treasures are her 'Jommoll rings', usually pronounced 'jimmoll', as by Shakespeare in *Henry V*, iv. ii, 46–50:

their poor jades

Lob down their heads, dropping the hides and hips;
The gum down-roping from their pale-dead eyes;
And in their pale dull mouths the jymold bit
Lies foul with chew'd grass, still and motionless—

a masterly description of dead-tired horse. The 'jymold bit' is a bit made of rings linked, hung together; and Widow Lewis's 'jommoll rings' were a double ring, one within the other, for the finger, separable for betrothal, each party wearing one, and reunited to form the marriage ring.³

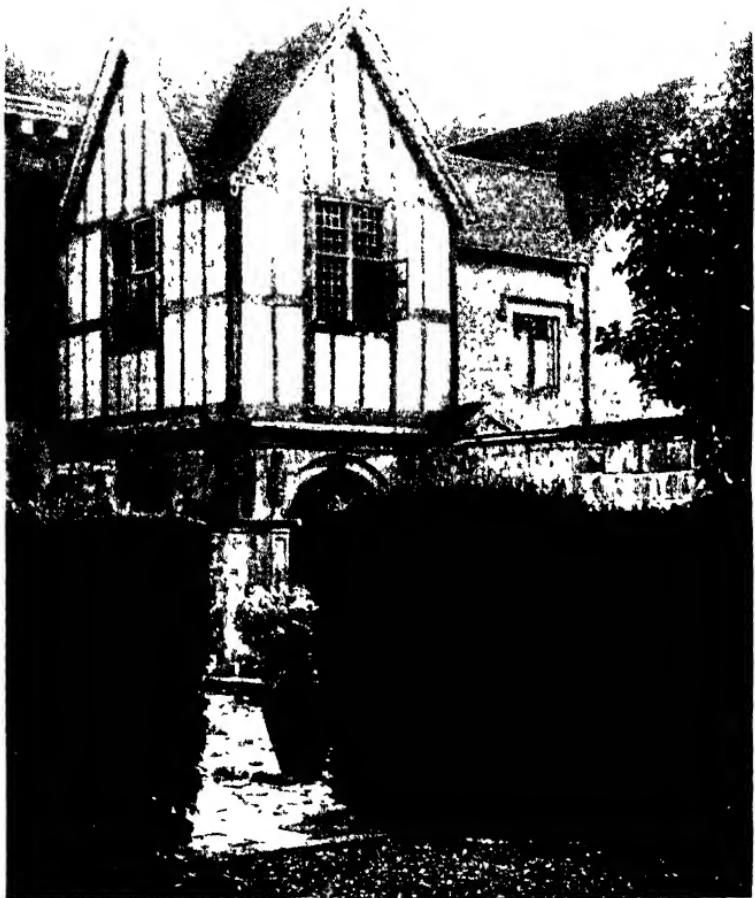
More striking if a humbler personage was George Scales, in his hat and cloak, his doublet with silver buttons, his breeches and stockings, his 'dagger and knives', which he wore 'daily'. Garments were hand made and costly and well cared for, and put away when not used in coffer and press with lavender. George Scales, whatever his occupation (probably that of a keeper), was choice of his apparel and bequeathed it in his will, of 21 March 1607–8,⁴ to his friends—his best coat and breeches

¹ Decorated with a figure? religious symbol?

² Bearded?—fringed? or 'birded', decorated with birds?

³ See her will, 20 July, and Horniblow's, 13 June, 1597 (P. C. C. 8 and 43 Lewyn).

⁴ P. C. C. 60 Windebanck.



CLOPTON



OLD WINDOWS OF CLOPTON

to his brother Richard in London, with stockings, his old coat, doublet and breeches to Titus Bacon the parish-clerk, his best cloak to John Wilmore, with all his silver buttons, on his doublet or in his coffer, and his hat to his young kinswoman, Ann Scales, with his cow, his trunk, and all his linens and residue of his possessions, provided she would be ruled by the vicar of Charlecote and the above John Wilmore, his overseer and executor, 'in the choice of her husband'. The vicar, since 29 September 1581, was Richard Southam. To him George left two shillings and sixpence. Inheritor of the dagger and knives was one Edmund Merry. Southam died in March 1610.

23. CLOPTON AND THE CLOPTONS

ON Mary's accession William Clopton of Clopton, William Lucy's old rival in religion and politics, entered into his own, serving as waferer at her coronation in 1553. For five years —years of terror and martyrdom in Warwickshire as elsewhere —his influence, outwardly at least, was supreme. Then, on the accession of Elizabeth, he and his house fell on evil days. His wife was buried in Stratford Church on 31 January 1559. Less than a year later, on 4 January 1560, he made his will and died, leaving instructions that he should be interred in the same place (in what is sometimes called 'the Clopton Chapel') by the handsome cenotaph raised for himself by Sir Hugh Clopton. William Bott witnessed the will, and on the removal of the heir, William Clopton junior, from New Place to Clopton House, he left Snitterfield for New Place. Clopton 'sold' him New Place and went abroad. He 'sold' him much more (him and his partner, John Goodale), even his 'manor of Clopton with the appurtenances, and one messuage, twenty tofts, one windmill, a hundred acres of land, forty acres of meadow, a thousand acres of pasture, a hundred acres of furze and heath, and ten shillings rent, with appurtenances, in Clopton, Ingon

alias Ington, Bishop's Hampton, Stratford-upon-Avon, and Old Stratford'.¹ Probably it was little more than legal formula—to protect the young squire from forfeiture for recusancy. Such devices, as we have seen,² depended on the fidelity of the parties to whom the properties were conveyed. Bott, it would appear, played the knave. During his master's absence in Italy he received the rents, withheld the money, and forged a deed. So Clopton declared, who lost permanently New Place. He does not strike us as a strong man, save in his persistence in recusancy. Year in, year out, he paid his heavy monthly fine. Crippled in his resources he was called upon to send but one light horseman to Tilbury in 1588, whereas Lucy sent two, and three lancers as well. Lucy, as we have seen,³ dealt with him leniently in 1592, as politically harmless. He died in April of this year, between the presentment of March and that of September. In the latter Lucy let the widow down gently: 'Mistress Clopton, the wife of William Clopton esquire now dead, presented for a recusant before our first certificate to your lordships, was mistaken and goeth now to church.'⁴ So the neighbourly Commissioner says, and so we do not believe. Mistress Clopton, the daughter of Sir George Griffith (not destined to become 'Lady Clopton'), died in her beautiful home, seven months after Lady Lucy's decease, on 17 September 1596, and was buried the same day without costly ceremony in Stratford Church. She and her husband, however, lie in a handsome tomb 'cut in alabaster'. Four children survived her—Joyce (Geiza), baptized 17 September 1562, and married on 31 May 1580 to George Carew, a cousin of Sir Walter Raleigh and worthy of him; Margaret, baptized 30 September 1563; William, baptized 3 July 1571; and Anne, baptized 9 January 1577, and married in her thirteenth year to her kinsman, William Clopton of Sledwick, Co. Durham. Anne's

¹ Court of Common Pleas 1215 m. 355 Warwick (Hil. Term 1563).

² pp. 103, 107.

³ p. 119.

⁴ *S. P. Dom. Eliz.* ccxliii. 76.



WILLIAM CLOPTON, 1538-92

From his effigy in Stratford Church



ANNE CLOPTON (*née* GRIFFITH), †1596
From her effigy in Stratford Church

wedding, on Sunday, 3 August 1589, in Stratford Church, must have excited comment. She was younger than Juliet:

Lady Capulet. Thou know'st my daughter's of a pretty age.

Nurse. Faith, I can tell her age unto an hour.

Lady Capulet. She's not fourteen.

Nurse. I'll lay fourteen of my teeth—

And yet, to my teen be it spoken, I have but four—

She's not fourteen. How long is it now

To Lammas tide?¹

Joyce Clopton became a Countess and lifted her house, in spite of dishonour done to it in Gunpowder Plot, to an eminence not enjoyed by Charlecote in Sir Thomas Lucy's days. Her husband, whom Raleigh addressed as 'noble George, my chosen friend and kinsman, from whom nor time nor fortune nor adversity shall ever sever me,' was knighted in February 1586 for service in Ireland. She was therefore Lady Carew six years before her father's death. Sir George was appointed Lieutenant of the Ordnance in 1592, after the death of the Master, the Earl of Warwick. He purchased lands and tene-ments in Old Stratford and Bridgetown in 1593. He com-manded the *Mary Rose* at Cadiz in June 1596 and wrote to Sir Robert Cecil of Raleigh's exploits there. He was in Spanish waters in command of the *Adventure* when his wife replied to a complaint by the Privy Council of unlawful sowing of woad by a tenant of his in Stratford—'Sir Fulke Greville, Sir Thomas Lucy and others have bound him over to answer his contempt before you the 5th of this present'—November 1597—'to whom, I beseech you, give punishment according to his offence. . . . Pardon me thus in Master Carew's absence to trouble you. And I would be very glad to be partaker of such good news as you shall hear from him, for I think it long, his so long stay, especially in this his solitary wandering.'² Carew encouraged

¹ *Rom. and Jul.* I. iii. 10–15. Both Juliet and Anne Clopton were married about Lammas (1 August). ² *Hist. MSS. Com.* vii. 468.

Richard Quyney in his struggle on behalf of the Stratford corporation with Sir Edward Greville in the autumn of 1598.¹ He was made Treasurer of War in Ireland in the Essex expedition of 1599—referred to by Shakespeare in *Henry the Fifth*.² In 1600 he was Lord President of Munster, to whom the Privy Council wrote on 29 March 1601 on behalf of the widow and children of Edmund Spenser—‘a servitor of that realm, . . . to pray you that you will, upon due information, afford them that favour and assistance which the justice and equity of the cause shall desire, for recovery and holding those things which by right ought to appertain unto them.’³ Spenser, who early recognized the genius of Shakespeare and gave him the fine name ‘Aetion’ (‘like the Eagle’, that Views the Sun),⁴ died, a refugee from Ireland, in Westminster, 13 January 1599.

Carew was honoured, as Raleigh was dishonoured, in the new reign. He welcomed the Scottish succession as the only alternative to civil war. He wrote from Coventry on his way, *via* Chester, from Ireland to London on 27 March 1603, three days after Elizabeth’s death, to Sir Robert Cecil that the proclamation of James had much eased his heart, which had feared many distempers in the state: ‘Praise God who hath so miraculously provided for us, contrary to the opinions of the wisest who for many years past trembled to think of her Majesty’s decease as if instantly upon it the kingdom would have to be torn in sunder.’⁵ Shakespeare was one of these ‘wisest’, whose patriotic anxiety underlies his English History plays and *Julius Cæsar*. But King James, if a political necessity, was personally repulsive to Englishmen, and swiftly lost respect. Cecil, a poor exchange for his great father, found Raleigh’s adventurous and tempestuous genius terrifying to the chicken-hearted Scot, and his friendship inconvenient to himself. But he could not dispense, if he had

¹ *Master Richard Quyny*, p. 149.

² *Act. v. prol.*

³ *Acts xxxi. 251.*

⁴ A careless printer might read ‘Aetion’ as ‘Action’; only the inspired could turn ‘Action’ into ‘Aetion’.

⁵ *Cecil Papers*, 99, 54.



JOYCE CLOPTON, COUNTESS OF TOTNES, †1637



GEORGE CAREW, EARL OF TOTNES, †1629

wished, with the level-headed Carew. So far as his calculating nature permitted he was attached to Carew, and on the day (4 May 1605) on which he received the Earldom of Salisbury, his 'favourite' (as Carew was noted to be),¹ was made Lord Carew of Clopton. Carew had recently purchased Clopton House.²

His ownership of Clopton brought him painfully, however innocently, into contact with Gunpowder Plot. He had let it to Ambrose Rookwood, one of the conspirators. On 6 November 1605 the Bailiff of Stratford raided the house. On the 8th Thomas Tempest, the steward of the Carews, wrote to them at the Savoy from Bridgetown, of what

'is lately happened in Warwickshire; as upon Monday night last, being the fourth of this month, the Castle stable at Warwick was broken, eight or nine great horse carried away by one Master Winter of Huddington in Worcestershire, and one Master Grant of Northbrook, your neighbour hereby, with divers other gentlemen yet unknown. Master Rookwood is greatly suspected . . . a brother of his is in the action. It is reported that these gentlemen be now at Winter's house, whither old Sir Fulke Greville hath raised the country for their apprehension. Not one is left at Clopton, never a man about the house. . . Here is a cloakbag stayed by the Bailiff, which came from Northbrook to be delivered to one George Badger. It is full of copes, vestments, crosses, crucifixes, chalices and other massing relics. The party that brought them is sent to the Gaol. I have seized all the goods in Clopton to the use of my lord. It is not much. I would gladly know your honours' pleasure therein.'³

Again, as so often,⁴ Shakespeare's country was in close proximity to high national concerns. His *Macbeth* bears unmistakably the mark of Gunpowder Plot and the priest Garnet's treasonable proceedings at Hindlip.⁵

¹ Winwood, ii. 59.

² *Records of Henley-in-Arden*, Wellstood, xix. The presentment was at least a year late.

³ *S. P. Dom. Jas. I. xvi. 34*. See *Catalogue of Birthplace*, p. 17 f.

⁴ pp. 31-3, 72-4, 116 f., 118.

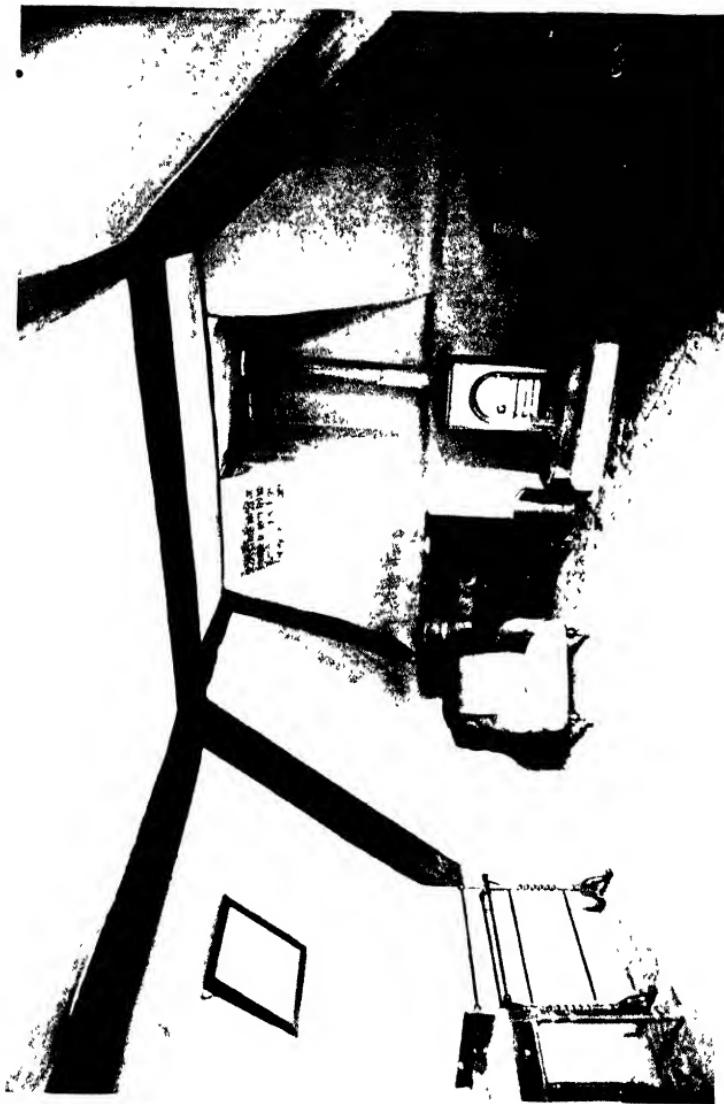
⁵ II. iii. 1-22.

On an embassy in France in 1607 Carew wrote to Cecil that Henri IV 'ever speaketh with great show of passionate affection towards my lord the Prince'. Prince Henry was as respected as King James was despised. He was then in his thirteenth year, the hope of puritan and of most patriotic men. To his credit he made repeated efforts to obtain Raleigh's relief from the Tower. In 1608 Carew was promoted to the Mastership of the Ordnance, the post held in Shakespeare's youth and early manhood by the Earl of Warwick. On the renewal of their charter in 1610 the Stratford Corporation petitioned for and obtained him as their High Steward and Sir Fulke Greville the second (Sidney's friend) as their Recorder. In Shakespeare's last years the relationship between his native town and these eminent neighbours was most cordial. We cannot doubt that he knew both. His kinsman Greene, the Town Clerk, records with satisfaction their disapproval, as also Shakespeare's, of the attempt of the Combes in 1614 to enclose the parish commons. This year Greville was made Chancellor of the Exchequer, and in 1616 Carew was created a Privy Councillor. Stratford was a proud borough in having the Chancellor of the Exchequer for its recorder and a Privy Councillor for its High Steward.

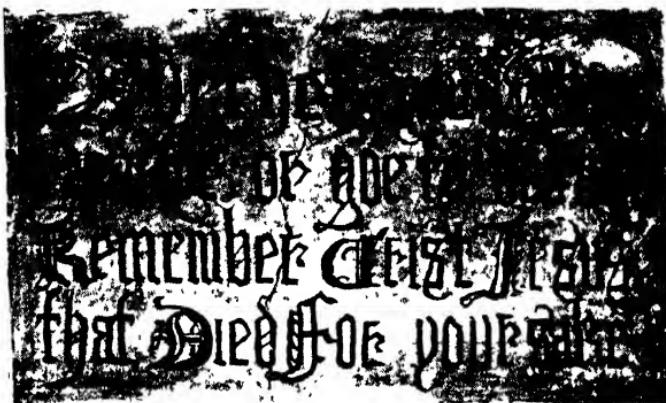
But we must follow Carew no further. He accepted a peerage as the Earl of Totnes on the coronation of Charles I and his wife became a Countess. He died in 1629, she in 1637. They were buried in the church they loved, Shakespeare's resting-place. A noble monument, with life-like effigies, marks their grave.

24. THE PRIEST'S CHAMBER AT CLOPTON

IN old time there was a family chapel at Clopton, by the grant in 1474 of Pope Sixtus IV. It has disappeared, but a small room at the top of the old part of the house (whence escape would be possible under or over the roof), known as the Priest's Chamber, preserves the tradition of Catholic worship.



THE PRIEST'S CHAMBER AT CLOPTON



ONE OF THE VERSES IN THE PRIEST'S
CHAMBER AT CLOPTON



ALVESTON MANOR HOUSE (LANE'S) AT BRIDGETOWN
From painting by Saunders

Biblical inscriptions on the walls suggest, indeed, a Protestant rather than a Catholic selection. They dwell on the 'Word', on giving 'ear to instruction' (otherwise sermons), and on the 'wickedness of the heart', and are quoted not from the Rheims (nor the Geneva nor the Bishops' Bible) but from the Authorized Version of 1611. They are subsequent therefore to Gunpowder Plot. The lettering (a mixture of Gothic and Italic) and spelling confirm a date not far from Shakespeare's death. Five texts are grouped in the form of a Heart:

Where Withall shall

A young man cleanse his way, by
Taking heed thereto According to thy
word. Psalms The 119: 9
Apply thine hart unto Instruction: and thine
Eare to the word of Knowledge Let not thine
Hart envy sinners: but be thou in the fear
of the Lord all the day long My sone
giue me thine Hart and let thine
Eyes obserue my way Prover.

The xxij, 12: 17: 26 The

Heart is deceitful abou all
things and Desperately
wicked who can know
it Jerymiah The
xvij : 9.

Of two other texts, now imperfect, on an adjoining wall, one is suitable for a retreat under the roof, though hardly complimentary to the lady of the house: 'It is better to Dwell in [the corner of the] house-Top than with A bra[wling woman] and in a wide house.'¹ The other is appropriate in a dwelling from which the honoured master was frequently absent beyond the seas: 'As cold [waters to a thirsty] Soul so is good News from a far country.'² Yet another can be made out: 'My sone, feare thou the Lord and the King, and meddl not with them that

¹ Proverbs xxv. 24.

² Ib. 25.

are giuen to Chainge.'¹ But more ancient writing can be detected in places, the Heart may be an older outline (symbol of the 'hart' which 'desireth the water-brooks': *ita desiāerat anima mea ad te, Deus*), and half concealed is a painting of the sacred Fish (*ΙΧΘΥΣ*) with a line and hook from the Hand in Heaven, and the monogram, $\mathfrak{I} \mathfrak{C}$ (Iesus Christ). A cock and other sacred devices were once visible.² Ancient also is the admonitory stanza (evidence that the chamber was a bedroom and not a chapel):

Whether you Rise Yearlye/
or goe to bed late/
Remember Crist Iesus \mathfrak{x}
that Died ffor your sake/

It recalls the similar lines which Shakespeare doubtless read in John Davenant's guest-chamber at Oxford:

[First in thi risinge]
And last of thi rest,
be thou gods seruante,
for that hold i best:
In the mornynge earlye
Serue god Deuoutlye,
Fear God aboue allthyng
[Honour all men and] the Kynge.³

25. THE FOREST

COPTON was in Arden—the ancient forest which once stretched from Avon to Cannock Chase. In Shakespeare's time the 'Woodland' on the right bank of the river was distinguished from the 'Feldon' on the left. The dual character

¹ Proverbs xxiv. 21.

² Saunders, Totnes, f. 147.

³ Cf. 1 Peter ii. 17. Such verses were sometimes in Latin, as in a bedroom at Burford:

Nec prius obducat mollis tua lumina somnus
Exacti quam ter repetisti facta diei,
Quid lapsus feci, quid recte, quidque remisi.

(Quoted by the Dean of Winchester in *The Yorkshire Post*, 1928.)

of the country through which Avon flowed from Warwick to Evesham could not be better told than in his two lines :

- With shadowy forests and with champains rich'd,
With plenteous rivers and wide-skirted meads.¹

Arden had wild and fierce memories—of Englishman at war with Welshman, Christian with pagan, the tiller of the soil with evil spirits and beasts. The numerous deer parks round Stratford—Goldcote, Grove, Haseley, Wedgenock, the Great Chase at Kenilworth, and near home, Clopton—were enclosures by royal warrant from the ‘woodie Waste’. Outside them the woodman and yeoman had been hard at work, but there were warrens and commons and desert haunts of *ferae Naturae*—for so were deer, foxes, badgers, otters, weasels, hares, and conies regarded²—and if ‘venery’ was a ‘gentle’ art, with its polite language and literature, for farmers hunting was a practical and serious business. With knights and squires and their ladies, out for exhilarating exercise and correct ceremonies, rode their tenants eager for the destruction of vermin. Barks of their trees had been nibbled, young shoots browsed, corn bitten and trampled down, turnips devoured or uprooted, poultry carried off or beheaded. If keepers were indispensable to the gentry, poachers had their uses for the tenantry, and most tenants probably, in a measure, were poachers. Young Shakespeare may or may not have been a poacher. Stories of his stealing deer at Charlecote and holding horses in London are mere legends, but they would not have been told of one who, like Francis Bacon, had no love of deer and horses.

That Shakespeare was a sportsman is obvious. It is written

¹ *King Lear*, I. i. 64 f.

² Shakespeare does not mention the badger, and refers to the otter but once. The weasel he names half a dozen times, as ‘night-wandering’ and shrieking, splenetic and ‘quarrelous’, sneaking to a nest and sucking eggs, to tear and havoc more than it can eat. To this disagreeable creature Jaques fitly likens himself (*As You L. I. II. v. 12-14*).

upon his work as unmistakably as his familiarity with the Bible, with Ovid, and with country-town law. These, indeed, are hall-marks of his workmanship. They appear all four sometimes in a single passage—as in *The Merchant of Venice*, II. vi, 5-19:

Salarino. O, ten times faster *Venus' pigeons fly*
 To seal love's bonds new-made than they are wont
 To keep obliged faith unforfeited !

Gratiana. That ever holds: who riseth from a feast
 With that keen appetite that he sits down?
Where is the horse that doth untread again
His tedious measures with the unbated fire
That he did pace them first? All things that are,
Are with more spirit chased than enjoyed.
 How like a younker or a prodigal
 The scarfed bark puts from her native bay,
 Hugg'd and embraced by the strumpet wind !
How like the Prodigal doth she return,
With over-weather'd ribs and ragged sails,
Lean, rent, and beggar'd by the strumpet wind !

Here are the *columbae niveae* of the goddess of love, whereby she is borne in her chariot through the yielding air (*per leves auras invecta*);¹ marriage as the sealing of a bond or an obligation kept unforfeited; the horse 'on fire' in the morning, tired out at night; the chase more valued than its object; the wind 'which bloweth where it listeth'² (and may bring upon itself a bad name if it blows and blots a Poet's papers in the garden of New Place in the late summer of 1597!); and the story in Shakespeare language of the Prodigal Son—'lean, rent, beggared by the strumpet'.³

¹ *Metamorphoses*, xix. 597; x. 717-20; xiii. 674; xv. 386.

² St. John iii. 8. Shakespeare repeats the idea again and again, 'the bawdy wind', 'kisses all it meets', 'the idle wind which I respect not', 'a chartered libertine', such as the offensive Jaques confesses himself to be, 'to blow on whom I please' (*As You L. I.* ii. vii. 47-9).

³ St. Luke xv. 11-20.

The scholar will observe these marks throughout the play, and in every play and poem, and note that their presence is not 'elaborate but spontaneous, and not unfrequently too great a pleasure to the Poet for his art. A little less Law often and a little less Sport sometimes would be an improvement. Whence we may conclude, without fear of confutation, that Shakespeare was brought up in a 'godly' home; that he devoured at school his *Metamorphoses*; that he served his articles in a lawyer's office, and married on the earnings of a lawyer's clerk; and that in his youth and early manhood he entered heart and soul into country sports. For the last, the reader is referred to Madden's convincing work, *The Diary of Master William Silence*. Only a few points can be dealt with here.

At Clopton, within a mile and a half of his home, young Shakespeare could acquire practical and, with a taste for them, intimate knowledge of coursing and hunting. What the Lucyns disregarded the Cloptons even in adversity cultivated. 'In the lordship of Clopton, beneath the park, next unto the common fields there,' runs a lease of land to William Smith, the haberdasher of Henley Street, dated 22 November 1562: seventeen months before the same William Smith, neighbour and friend of John Shakespeare, acted, we may believe, as godfather to the latter's son, William. The great bell of the Gild Chapel was rung for the burial of 'Master Clopton's keeper' (Thomas Howght?) on 25 April 1580, when William Shakespeare was just sixteen. The park is depicted, with a tree in its midst to denote its woodland character, in the map of 1603. Within sight or hearing of their beautiful house, under leafy trees and on the green sward and into wild recesses, the Cloptons practised 'the noble art of Venery'. And here the son and grandson of an Arden might learn (with help from books, and his father's handling of the skins of deer and hound) the distinction between pricket and sorel, the craft of huntsmen, and the technical terms of the chase. He knew what it was to 'keep

thicket', 'recover the wind', 'drive into a toil', 'wind a recheat', and 'the mort'.

Shakespeare loved the hounds—to hear them, watch them, note their individual behaviour. He can rattle off a list of dog varieties:

Mastiff, greyhound, mongrel grim,
Hound or spaniel, brach or lym,
Or bobtail tike or trundle-tail;¹

and again, with help of a book:

hounds and greyhounds, mongrels, spaniels, curs,
Shoughs, water-rugs and demi-wolves.²

He had read '*Of English Dogs* the diversities, the names, the natures, and the properties. A short treatise written in Latin by Johannes Caius . . . and newly drawn into English by Abraham Fleming, 1576'; and he remembered a passage on 'outlandish dogs, curs forsooth greatly set-by and made-of in the room of the spaniel, I mean Iceland dogs, curled and rough all over, which by reason of the length of their hair make show neither of face nor of body', when he makes Pistol say to the big long-haired, fierce-looking, harmless Nym:

'Pish for thee, Iceland dog! thou prick-ear'd cur of Iceland!' ³
What a shaggy object must have been Ben Jonson if, as some would have us believe, he resembled Nym.⁴

Still more, Shakespeare loved a horse. His father had a horse for his business in the market towns and visits to Little Alne, Coventry, Warwick, Barton-on-Heath;⁵ his uncle Harry had a mare; his friend Richard Quynay had a mare for his journeys to London, and a colt which broke bounds and was sent (or at least it was suggested) to Clopton Park for pasture. There were horses, therefore, as well as deer at Clopton. Twenty

¹ *Lear*, III. vi. 71-3.

² *Macbeth*, III. i. 93 f.

³ *Arber, Garner*, III. 261. *Hen. V.* II. i. 44.

⁴ *Times Literary Supplement*, May 1928. Poor Ben! poorer Shakespeare!

⁵ Not to mention London, in 1572, with Adrian Quynay.

kinsmen had their mounts, of one kind or another, and on gelding or curtal he joined in the chase of a hare or deer or the following of a falcon, before he had a hackney of his own for useful service on the road: to be exchanged, when he could afford it, before 1595, for the 'roan *Barbary*' (as Madden thinks) so praised in *King Richard II*.¹ Such a steed, 'hot and fiery' but well in hand, with 'slow' and 'stately pace' keeping on his 'course', would answer every requirement of the player when, at the head of his company and preceded by a trumpeter, he rode, with *Hamlet* in his pocket, through the 'gazing streets' of Cambridge, in the garb of a 'kingly part' and attended by a 'page', exciting the envy of the University poet who wrote:

Better it is 'mongst fiddlers to be chief
 Than at players' trenchers beg relief!
 But is't not strange these mimic-apes should prize
 Unhappy scholars at a hireling rate?
 Vile world, that lifts them up to high degree
 And treads us down in grovelling misery!
 England affords those glorious vagabonds,
 That carried erst their fardels on their backs,
 Coursers to ride on through the gazing streets,
 Loping² it in their glaring satin suits,
 And pages to attend their masterships;
 With mouthing words that better wits have framed
 They purchase lands and now esquires are made.³

In 1602 Shakespeare (who, unlike his prosperous fellows, Edward Alleyn and others, 'mouthed' his own compositions), was owner of New Place with a coat-of-arms.

None has expressed better the sympathy between horse and

¹ v. v. 76-94. This passage alone proves Shakespeare's horsemanship.

² Cf. Job, p. 126.

³ *Return from Parnassus*, v. i. 4-16. Studioso, a poor Cambridge student fiddling for a living, is the speaker.

rider. As is the other so is the one, and sometimes as the one so the other. Whence Sonnet 50 (and its sequel):

How heavy do I journey on the way,
 When what I seek, my weary travel's end,
 Doth teach that ease and that repose to say,
 'Thus far the miles are measured from thy Friend!'
 The beast that bears me, tired with my woe,
 Plods dully on, to bear that weight in me,
 As if by some instinct the wretch did know
 His rider loved not speed, being made from Thee:
 The bloody spur cannot provoke him on
 That sometimes anger thrusts into his hide;
 Which heavily he answers with a groan—
 More sharp to me than spurring to his side;
 For that same groan doth put this in my mind—
 My grief lies onward and my Joy behind.

This is charming, and the more delightful because a picture of himself rather than of his horse, on the road from London westward and thence to Stratford in the Sonnet Summer, 1592. A better portrait of the 'beast', and one of the truest, is that of the hunter defiant of his master, 'limned' about the same time:

His ears up-pricked; his braided hanging mane
 Upon his compass'd crest now stand on end:
 His nostrils drink the air, and forth again
 As from a furnace vapours doth he send;
 His eye, which scornfully glisters like fire,
 Shows his hot courage and his high desire.¹

This and seven stanzas more are pure Horse.

And not only the ridden but the hunted 'wretch' had the great Poet's regard—the trembling hare and the stag at bay. We all remember 'poor Wat'—who can forget the creature?

Sometime he runs among a flock of sheep
 To make the cunning hounds mistake their smell,

¹ *Venus and Adonis*, 271-6.

And sometime where earth-delving conies keep,
To stop the loud pursuers in their yell;

• And sometime sorteth with a herd of deer—

Danger deviseth shifts, wit waits on fear—
For there his smell with others being mingled,
The hot scent-snuffing hounds are driven to doubt,
Ceasing their clamorous cry till they have singled
With much ado the cold fault cleanly out;

Then do they spend their mouths: Echo replies,
As if another chase were in the skies.

By this, poor Wat, far off upon a hill,
Stands on his hinder legs with list'ning ear,
To hearken if his foes pursue him still:
Anon their loud alarms he doth hear;

And now his grief may be compared well
To one sore sick that hears the passing-bell.¹
Then shalt thou see the dew-bedabbled wretch
Turn and return, indenting with the way;
Each envious brier his weary legs doth scratch,
Each shadow makes him stop, each murmur stay:

For misery is trodden on by many,
And being low never reliev'd by any.²

We are in Arden, not far from Stratford Chapel bell. Again we are there when Talbot rallies the English before Bordeaux; not in the open waste or cultivated fields but in Clopton, or other enclosed and fatal ground:

How are we park'd and bounded in a pale,
A little herd of England's timorous deer,
Maz'd with a yelping kennel of French curs!
If we be English deer, be then in blood;
Not rascal-like, to fall down with a pinch,
But rather moody-mad and desperate stags,
Turn on the bloody hounds with heads of steel,

¹ *Shakespeare's Stratford*, p. 46.

² *Venus and Adonis*, 685-708. What perfect description, 'earth-delving conies', 'scent-snuffing hounds', 'dew-bedabbled wretch'! Note the accurate technical terms, *single*, *fault*, *spend the mouth*.

And make the cowards stand aloof at bay:
 Sell every man his life as dear as mine,
 And they shall find dear deer of us, my friends.¹

Shakespeare, aged about six and twenty when he wrote these lines, had seen the brave Lord Talbot's statuette on the Beau-champ tomb at Warwick.

26. SHAKESPEARE'S FALCON

FOX-HUNTING and horse-racing, as we know them, did not exist in Shakespeare's day. The fox was a vermin to be exterminated, a perpetual menace to the farmyard and the flock, not to mention the covert:

slay him:
 Be it by gins, by snares, by subtilty,
 Sleeping or waking, 'tis no matter how,
 So he be dead.²

Horse-racing, among the English as old as *Beowulf*,³ was one of the 'Cotswold games', but a sport for clowns, not 'gentlemen'. Shakespeare's allusions to it, if they are such, are negligible. Romeo speaks of 'switch and spurs';⁴ and Imogen says,

I have heard of riding wagers,
 Where horses have been nimbler than the sands
 That run i' the clock's behalf.⁵

On the other hand, the now disused 'art of falconry' was in the highest favour, and Shakespeare was an expert in its practice. He had 'limed' small birds in bushes or taken them at night with a net, caught woodcocks in a springe, hit a partridge with a bolt from a stone-bow or shot it with his fowling-piece (by good luck) behind a stalking-horse; better, he had taken a duck with a hawk and, best of all, brought down a heron from the

¹ *1 Hen. VI*, iv. ii. 45-54. Cf. p. 70 n. ² *2 Hen. VI*, iii. i. 261-4.
³ ll. 864-7. ⁴ *Romeo and Juliet*, ii. iv. 76.
⁵ *Cymbeline*, iii. ii. 73-5.

sky with a falcon. There were herons at Hampton Lucy. We read of a youth who 'fell down in climbing of a heron's nest at the parsonage and died and was buried' on Saturday, 2 July 1569. Early the Poet learned about 'bells' and 'jesses', 'hooding', 'seeling', 'imping'; the difference between the 'falcon' (the female peregrine), and the male 'tercel-gentle', between a 'goshawk' and its male, plain 'tercel'; that an 'eyas' or nestling made a rather tame bird, but a 'haggard', bred wild, would prove, if trained in time and with patience, high-spirited—otherwise unreliable and worthless. Some of his readiest and finest images spring spontaneously from this knowledge. Katharine in *The Taming of the Shrew* is a 'haggard of the rock', proud and disdainful, a beautiful wild young peregrine, whom Petruchio trains with ceaseless watching and care:

My falcon now is sharp and passing empty,
And till she stoop she must not be full-gorg'd,
For then she never looks upon her lure.
Another way I have to man my haggard,
To make her come and know her keeper's call,
That is to watch her, as we watch these kites
That bate and beat and will not be obedient,
(And) all is done in reverend care of her.¹

The comedy might be named (as Madden well says) *The Manning of the Haggard*.² The theme would highly amuse the Elizabethan Court, but would lose point a generation later, and fall rather flat after the Civil War.

Othello is fearful that Desdemona may 'fly off'. He will let her go:

If I do prove her Haggard,
Though that her jesses were my dear heart-strings,
I'll whistle her off and let her down the wind,
To prey at fortune.³

These passionate lines are lost on a modern audience; as is

¹ iv. i. 193-9, 207. ² *The Diary*, p. 153. ³ *Othello*, iii. iii. 260-3.

Hamlet's saying, 'When the wind is southerly I know a hawk from a handsaw';¹ and Isabella's caustic comment on Angelo,

This outward-sainted Deputy,
Whose settled visage and deliberate word
Nips youth i' the head, and follies doth enew
As falcon doth the fowl, is yet a devil;
His filth within being cast, he would appear
A pond as deep as hell.²

The most interesting reference, however, to falconry is as much heraldic and biographical as matter of sport. It is the passage in *Lucrece* which plays on the words *falcon* and *falchion*, with double allusion to John Shakespeare's coat-of-arms and that of his friend, Adrian Quynay. The latter, which Alderman Quynay 'gentleman' bore not later than 1574, is a shield of gold,³ with black band from right to left having on it three leaves of clover in silver, and above the shield a right forearm, clad in black, slashed and cuffed with gold, the hand of flesh colour, grasping a Falchion of silver, the pommel and hilt of gold, on the blade being three 'gules' or splashes of blood: *in defiance*, with the motto, *Fide sed Cui Vide* ('Trust but See Whom'). The Shakespeare formula, granted in 1576, but, as the Poet knew, to be reapplied for when the opportunity came, is a shield of gold,³ with black band from right to left, having on it a spear of gold with steel point in silver; and above the shield a Falcon (not the short-wing'd hawk but the wide-wing'd female peregrine in her rich plumage)

¹ *Hamlet*, II. ii. 397 (When the sun is not in my eyes I know a hawk from a heron).

² *Measure for Measure*, III. i. 88-93. He terrifies the young fool as a falcon its quarry, causing it, in Drayton's phrase, to 'lie flat upon the flood'; yet if he, like a falcon, were made to cast up his grease, his pond of evil would be found as deep as the bottomless pit. The 'pond' suggests 'enew' rather than the tamer reading of the Folio, 'emmew': see p. 21.

³ 'My golden coat' (*Lucrece*, 205).

of silver, *towering aloft in pride of place*,¹ to use his own noble expression, at the summit level of her soaring, shaking her wings preparatory to the act of swooping, and holding in her right talon a golden spear with point of silver: *challenging*, with the motto, *Non Sanz Droict* ('Not Without Right'). The symbolism confirms their dependence, Shakespeare on Quynay. The clover is key grass, the *falx* is keen; the *key* (cloef), and *keen*, like the *Cui* in the motto, suggest Quynay (spelt also Cuyny). The *spear* and the *shake* of the bird's wings are a pun on the Poet's name. And *falx* is both the crooked weapon and the bird's bent beak.

Hence the lines (505-11):

Shakes aloft his Roman blade,
Which, like a falcon towering in the skies,
Coucheth the fowl below with his wings' shade,
Whose crooked beak threatens if he mount he dies:
So under his insulting falchion lies
Harmless Lucretia, marking what he tells
With trembling fear, as fowl hear falcon's bells.

It is the Artist's expression (to those who have the artist in them) of pride in his family and friend. The Shakespeares were not ashamed of their blood—the father, of being a Shakespeare allied to an Arden; the son, of being a Shakespeare and an Arden. And as the father honoured his old colleague on the Council of Stratford, so the son pays tribute to his old comrade who addressed him as 'loving countryman'²—fellow-native, that is, of their beloved Warwickshire.

¹ It was a strange reversal of things, an upheaval in Nature, when
 A falcon, towering in her pride of place,
 Was by a mousing owl hawk'd at and kill'd.

(*Macbeth*, II. iv. 12 f.)

('Mousing owl' is a not inappropriate phrase for the superior person who would dethrone Shakespeare from his pride of place. The Falcon is a good deal 'hawk'd at' to-day, but is not in danger of being 'kill'd'.)

² *Master Richard Quyny*, pp. 137-9.

27. TIDDINGTON.

MORE than once as we follow the Avon from Charlecote to Stratford we are reminded of the lines in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*:

The current that with gentle murmur glides,
 Thou know'st, being stopp'd, impatiently doth rage;
 But when his fair course is not hinderéd,
 He makes sweet music with the enamell'd stones,
 Giving a gentle kiss to every sedge
 He overtaketh in his pilgrimage.¹

The passage owes something to the schoolboy's *Metamorphoses*:

*Sic ego torrentem, qua nil obstabat eunti,
 Lenius et modico strepitu decurrere vidi:
 At quacumque trabes obstructaque saxa tenebant,
 Spumeus et fervens et ab obice saevior ibat*²—

but more to Avon, with a less level bed than now, full of weedy shallows and pebbly bottoms, and anon deep pools, where a girl could drown beneath a willow. At Tiddington, between Alveston Church and Bridgetown, rather more than a mile above Clopton Bridge, one Katharine Hamlet was drowned on Thursday, 17 December 1579. Eight weeks later her body was taken up from its temporary grave for the inquest, on 11 February. The charge to the jury would be somewhat as follows: 'Was the deceased feloniously slain, then by whom, and what goods she had, and did she flee for them or no? Did she, not having the fear of God before her eyes, wilfully drown herself, yea or no? Whether she came to her death by any

¹ II. vii. 25–30. The word 'pilgrimage' befits a river, making its long journey *per agros*, through the fields, to the ocean.

² III. 568–71 ('So have I seen a river, where nothing obstructed its course, flow smoothly on with gentle murmur; but wherever logs and rocks held it in check foaming and raging it went fiercer for obstruction'). The context is similar in the parallel passages—Julia's hot love and the wrath of Pentheus. Cf. *Venus and Adonis*: 331 f., 'a river stay'd swelleth with more rage'.

misfortune, yea or no? and the manner and circumstance thereof.¹ Upon sight of the body (*supervisum corporis*) they, with the coroner, who was Henry Rogers, the Town Clerk of Stratford, agreed that the deceased, 'going with a milk-pail to draw water at the river, standing on the bank, slipped and fell in, and was drowned'. It was a case, therefore, not of *per feloniam* nor *felo de se*, but of *per infortunium*, and doubts and reports were set to rest.² Had poor Katharine taken her life her body would not have been re-interred in Alveston church-yard, but cast into a hole at a crossway or on a refuse heap, where folk might tread upon her grave or throw broken pots and stones on it.³ If, as we may believe, Shakespeare, approaching his sixteenth year, was in the Town Clerk's office, he would have reason to 'meditate' the tragedy and its attending circumstance and gossip, and in later years transform the story into the moving tale of Ophelia.⁴

The Avon at Tiddington is beautiful in winter, when Katharine Hamlet was drowned in it: infinitely more beautiful in June, when Ophelia with her garlands 'down fell' in the 'glassy stream'. Below the farmhouse and cottage gardens, from the end of one of which Katharine *lapsit et cecidit in rivum*, are lovely meadow banks on an early summer day, with overhanging willows and masses of 'coronet weeds',

Crow-flowers, nettles, daisies, and long purples,
where Shakespeare would find the feast of river-glory into
which his sad heroine sank to 'muddy death'.

28. BRIDGE TOWN

AMILE and a half down stream, among willows and innumerable elms, we arrive at Clopton Bridge (not disfigured as now by the iron foot-way) and a little group of

¹ As in the case of Simon Bennett, drowned at Clopton Bridge, 6 Feb. 1617.

² *Min. & Acc.* iii. 50 f.

³ *Hamlet*, v. i. 251-4.

⁴ *Times Literary Supplement*, 17 Mar. 1927.

houses and cottages at the country-end where three roads meet—from Tiddington, Banbury, and Shipston—known as Bridge Town. Here at the junction of two of the roads—from Tiddington and Banbury—was, and still is, Alveston Manor House, the residence of that prosperous yeoman and moneylender, whom we have seen more than once on our pilgrimage, Master Nicholas Lane.¹ His father Richard was only ‘Goodman Lane’, he himself was ‘gentleman’; his son Richard died ‘esquire’ and friend of the leading families of the neighbourhood. Evidence of his prosperity is his possession or tenure of land and tenement in Greenhill Street, messuages in Wood Street and Chapel Street, tenements in Mere Street, Rother Street, and Swine Street, and his ‘capital messuage’ with two cottages and ‘thirteen parcels of land’ in Bridge Town; his purchase also from the Stratford Chamber in 1583 for £30 of the thickly-wooded close by the Bridge, long in the tenure of Alderman George Whateley, the warden of the Bridge; his loans, as we have seen, to the Whateleys of Henley, and to Master Francis Smith of Wootton Wawen, and others; and his purchase of various properties from the Grevilles, Adrian Quyney, and others prior to 1586, when he settled estate on his two sons, Richard and John. We can understand his appointment on a commission in 1587, respecting the affairs of John Browne, the woollen draper of Bridge Street, with such gentlemen as Edward Aglionby, Bartholomew Hales, and Sir Thomas Lucy.² Shakespeare’s father did not lack courage to stand up against such a successful and dominant individual in 1586 and 1587.³

We know his appearance (more or less) from his effigy in Alveston Old Church (Bridge Town, like Tiddington, is in Alveston parish) in the garb of a gentleman-farmer of the period—leather doublet and breeches, worsted stockings,

¹ pp. 63 and note.

² *Acts of the Privy Council*, xiv. 324 f.

³ *Shakespeare’s Stratford*, p. 30.

shoes, ruffs at the neck and wrists, and suspended from the belt a short sword.¹ His grateful sons kneel at his feet, the elder of whom erected the monument. He died in 1595.

His younger son, John, aged thirty-three in 1595, lived in Rother Street, 'gentleman', in receipt of large allowances of money, beside the estate settled upon him in 1586, to the vexation apparently of the elder brother and heir, Richard. The father declared in his will:²

'I will that my son John Lane have quietly all such lands, hereditaments and tenements which I have already conveyed to him and his heirs for ever, without any challenge or claim to be made thereunto by my son Richard or his heirs; and also that he quietly have and enjoy all such sums of money hereafter following which I do freely give and forgive him: That is to say, one deed of one hundred pounds that John Whateley of Henley owe me together with the assurance of certain lands that doth concern the same, also the severall debts which Richard Whateley and William his brother of Henley do owe me, together with all such interest which I have in either of their lands and tenements. Also I forgive him the debt which Robert Whateley of Henley did owe me, which was twenty pounds, *which he hath received and had*. Also I forgive him the debt which Rowland Wheeler [of Henley-in-Arden] did owe me, which was twenty pounds, *which he hath likewise received*. Also the sixteen pounds *which he received* of the executors of Humphrey Brace [mercer in Chapel Street, who died in 1591, the executors being the recipient's elder brother Richard and Master John Combe]. Also the thirteen pounds six shillings and eight pence *which he received of Wilkinson and hath it* [the creditor being Thomas Wilkinson yeoman of Wood Street]. Also I forgive him the lxxxxⁱⁱ *which he likewise hath received and had* of Francis Smith of Wootton esquire.'

John Lane married Frances Nash, daughter of Sir John

¹ *Shakespeare's Stratford*, p. 30 f. For 'a leathern doublet and a leather pair of hose' see the will of Henry Oughton of Wootton Wawen, 23 Feb. 1596-7 (P. C. C. 27 Cobham).

² P. C. C. 69 Scott.

Huband's agent, Master Thomas Nash of Old Stratford, in 1584, and was himself a 'baily', in 1592, to the new lord of the manor of Stratford (in succession to Ambrose Earl of Warwick), Master Edward Greville of Milcote. This office probably brought him into conflict with the Stratford Corporation, of which he was sworn a member, after repeated refusals to serve, in 1600. He attended very irregularly and was 'removed' in 1604. He probably had other faults than that of being his semi-crazy master's servant.¹ His wife died in 1607, leaving him a son Nicholas, a daughter Margaret, and a son John. Nicholas (of whose 'disorders' we hear in 1601 from Master Richard Quyney, the Bailiff)² interests us as father of the Richard Lane who sold a house in Chapel Street, four doors above New Place, to Thomas Hathaway, kinsman of the Shakespeares, in 1647.³ More interesting is Margaret, who married in 1609 (when her age was twenty) John Greene of Clement's Inn, brother of Thomas Greene, the Town Clerk of Stratford, and kinsman of William Shakespeare. But if Margaret Lane linked in marriage her family with the Shakespeares, her younger brother John did his best to destroy their friendship. Young Lane, aged 23 in 1613, had been heard to say, on or about 10 June, that Shakespeare's eldest daughter Susanna, married since 1607 to Doctor John Hall, with a little daughter aged 5 in 1613, 'had the running of the reins, and had been naught with Rafe Smith at John Palmer's'. Rafe Smith, aged 36 (Mistress Hall was 30) was a haberdasher of Stratford, son of the late Alderman John Smith, vintner, in High Street, and grandson of Master William Smith, of Henley Street, who was probably the Poet's godfather. Rafe, moreover, was a nephew of Shakespeare's friend, Hamlet Sadler, and a friend of the scholarly minister of Bishopton Chapel, John Marshall,⁴ to whom he had lent in former years his rather costly English

¹ pp. 149, 152 f. *Master Richard Quyney*, pp. 170-84.

² *Ib.*, p. 188.

³ p. 27.

⁴ p. 51 f.

Bible. John Palmer seems to have been the son of Richard Palmer esquire of Compton and his wife a daughter of Alderman William Smith of High Street, Stratford.

The speech was, if not to, in the hearing of a friend of the Shakespeares, one Robert Whatcott, a signatory of the Poet's will in 1616. It caused indignation at Hall's Croft and, doubtless, New Place, not to mention Sheep Street, where Rafe Smith lived with his mother, Hamlet Sadler's sister. Vexation was not less because the slander and its effects coincided with the catastrophe to Shakespeare in the burning of the Globe Theatre during a performance on 29 June of his *King Henry the Eighth*. Had he been in Stratford he might have treated the matter not, as undiscerning critics would say, with 'complacency', but with contempt, as more than once he treated the vomitings of the 'Blatant Beast'¹ upon himself. Not so, however, Doctor Hall. He immediately prosecuted the offender in the Episcopal Court at Worcester, and on 15 July obtained a verdict of excommunication. The defendant did not show himself.²

Another coincidence must be noted. Master Richard Lane of Alveston Manor House, uncle of the young blackguard, must have felt the shame intensely. He was on intimate terms with Doctor Hall and the Greenes, and friendly at least with the Shakespeares. In 1597 he had witnessed John Shakespeare's conveyance of a strip of his garden in Henley Street to George Badger; in 1612 he headed with Thomas Greene and William Shakespeare the petition to Chancery for a proportionate rating of the rent-charges on the Stratford Tithes. On Thursday,

¹ Edmund Spenser's personification of slander, who 'spake licentious words' and 'bitter terms of shameful infamy, oft interlacing many a forged lie' (*Faerie Queene* vi. 12, 28 and 33).

² What an opportunity was here lost for a lady dramatist to put Shakespeare's daughter on the stage as a harlot!—as with even less evidence she has presented the Poet as an adulterer. I wonder that Imogen has not scratched out her eyes.

8 July 1613, just a week before his nephew's conviction at Worcester, 'sick in body but of perfect memory', he made his will, 'revoking, adnulling and making void all former wills heretofore by him made', and directing that his body should be buried 'in the chancel of Alveston, near where my father was laid, where I desire to have a small memorial done for me as I have done for him'. He left nothing to his brother (who was living) or his brother's children, but divided his fortune, save for a few small legacies, between his 'beloved daughter Mary', his son Edward, and his widow Joan. To Mary he bequeathed the large sum of £830 and, after her mother's death, one half of his 'plate, household stuff and implements'. The other moiety he left to Edward, his executor, and the residue of his estate, with the exception of the Manor House. This with its 'wainscot, glass and standards' he invested next day, 9 July, in four trustees for the benefit of his son and daughter. The Trustees are his brother-in-law, Henry Whitney, and his friends, Bartholomew Hales, Thomas Greene, and *Doctor John Hall*.

An item of the will is further illuminating:

'And whereas Sir Edward Greville knight, by his obligation bearing date the twelfth day of November (1603) . . . doth stand bound unto me in the sum of two thousand pounds, with condition to pay unto me the sum of one thousand pounds at or upon the Feast of St. Michael the archangel in the year of our Lord God one thousand six hundred and sixteen, my will and true intent¹ is that if my son and daughter shall both depart this life without any issue before the said Feast, which God forbid! then I devise unto Henry Rainsford and Francis Rainsford, sons of Sir Henry Rainsford of Clifford Chambers knight, one hundred pounds apiece, unto George Whitney, youngest son of my brother-in-law Henry Whitney esquire, other two hundred pounds, and unto William Greene, the son of Thomas Greene of

¹ A legal tag dropped by Shakespeare into the mouth of Quince (*Mid. N. D.* v. i. 114).

*Old Stratford, the sum of fifty pounds. . . . And I will the charges of the suits for obtaining of the said thousand pounds shall be borne and defrayed out of the residue of the said thousand pounds.'*¹

Here is light on the lord of Stratford manor. In 1613 Lane would hardly have lent Greville a thousand pounds. Since 1603 he had learnt something of his grasping and litigious nature and saw suits ahead.

The three boys, conditional heirs to the money, demand our attention. Henry and Francis Rainsford, aged 13 and 11 years respectively, are the sons of Michael Drayton's *Idea*, the lady of his sonnets, Lady Anne Rainsford, daughter to Drayton's friend and patron at Polesworth, Sir Henry Goodyere. Doctor Hall was probably her physician. He attended her husband and her son's wife, young Henry's Eleonora (daughter to Robert Boswell of Eastwick), sometime after their marriage in or about 1619, and entered in his notebook enthusiastic praise of her beauty, 'aged 27, beautiful, and of a gallant structure of body'. The third boy of Master Lane's choice, William, son of Master Thomas Greene (at this time resident in St. Mary's House, by the Church Way in Old Stratford), was born like his sister Anne at New Place, in January 1608, as Anne in March 1604, and was almost certainly a namesake of William Shakespeare, as with equal probability his sister was god-daughter of Mistress Shakespeare.

Witnesses to Master Lane's will were the brothers Greene, Thomas and John.² He died two months later, on 6 September, and his wife died three weeks after him, on 29 September 1613. She was a Catholic and a recusant,³ but was buried with her husband in the church she had refused to attend at Alveston. Their daughter and son survived 1616. Mary married Richard Bishop of Cholsey in Berkshire. Edward, who had studied at Exeter College, Oxford (whence he matriculated on 15 March

¹ P. C. C. 103 Capell.

² pp. 12, 62, 68, 103 f., 132, 150, 151 f.

³ At least in 1592.

1605),¹ succeeded to the Manor House, with its wainscot and glass and standards, and half his father's plate and household stuff, and married on 11 December 1613, three months after his father's death, Mary Combe, daughter of the late Thomas Combe of the College, and sister therefore to that pair of young 'swaggerers' (to employ a term alarming to others, if in a different sense, besides Mistress Quickly)²—the terror for a time to the Stratford Corporation and even Thomas Greene, and at last for a moment to William Shakespeare—namely, William and Thomas Combe. But she did not live long. She died in 1620, and was followed by her delicate husband to the grave at Alveston in 1625.

John Lane, the cousin, the slanderer, the excommunicate, lived to be fifty. He was a ringleader, with better men, in the astounding demonstration against the new vicar, Thomas Wilson, in the Stratford parish church on Sunday, 30 May 1619. Ten days later he was presented by the churchwardens as a 'drunkard'.

¹ *Register*, II. ii. 281: Lane, Edward (Comitatus) Warwici, generosi filius (aet.) 16.

² 2 *Hen. IV*, II. iv. 76–118.

Mr. D. B. May Jr.
W. E. S.

(a) Deposition

M. D. B. May Jr.
W. E. S.

(b) Conveyance

W. E. S.



(c) Mortgage

dant did make a mocion vnto the complainant of marriadge with the said Mary in the bill mencioned beinge the said defendantes sole chyld and daughter, and willinglye offered to performe the same yf the said complainant shold seeme to be content and well like thereof: And further this deponent sayethe that the said defendantes wyffe did sollicit and entreat this deponent to move and perswade the said complainant to effect the said marriadge, and accordingly this deponent did moue and perswade the complainant thervnto: And more to this interrogatorye he cannott depose.

4 To the ffourth interrogatory this deponent sayth that the defendant promissted to geue the said complainant a porcion in marriag with Marye his daughter, but what certayne porcion he rememberethe not, nor when to be payed, nor knoweth that the defendant promissted the plaintiff twoe hundered poundes with his daughter Marye at the tyme of his decease. But sayth that the plaintiff was dwellinge with the defendant in his house, and they had amongeste them selues manye conferences about there marriadge which *(afterwardes)* was consummated and solemnized. And more he cannott depose.)

5 To the vth interrogatory this deponent sayth he can saye noth touchinge any parte or poynte of the same interrogatory, for he knoweth not what implementes and necessaries of houshould stiffe the defendant gaue the plaintiff in marriadge with his daughter Marye.

W^m Shakp

(b) [19 June 1612. *Depositions to further Interrogatories on behalf of Belott.]*

(1) [Deposition of Daniell Nicholas.]

4 To the iiiijth interrogatory this deponent sayth that the defendant did never send him this deponent vnto the complainant to make mocion of marriadge betwixte the

complainant and the said Marye Mountioye beinge the defendantes sole daughter and childe, but M^r: William Shakespeare tould him this deponent that the defendant sent him the said M^r Shakespeare to the plaintiff about such a marriadge to be hadd betweene them, and Shakespeare tould this deponent that the defendant tould him that yf the plaintiff would marrye the said Marye his daughter he would geue him the plaintiff a some of monney with her for a porcion in marriadge with her. And that yf he the plaintiff did not marry with her the said Marye and shee with the plaintiff shee should never coste him the defendant her ffather a groat. Wherevpon, and in regard M^r Shakespeare hadd tould them that they should haue a some of monney for a porcion from the father, they weare made suer by M^r Shakespeare by geuinge there consent, and agreed to marry and did marrye. But what some yt was that M^r Mountioye promissted to geue them he the said M^r Shakespeare could not remember, but said yt was flyftyne poundes or theraboutes to his best remembraunce. And as he rememberith M^r Shakespeare said he promissted to geue them a porcion of his goodes: but what, or to what valewe he rememberithe not. And more he cannott depose.

(2) [Deposition of William Eaton.]

4 To the iiijth interrogatory this deponent sayth he hath herd one M^r Shakespeare saye that he was sent by the defendant to the plaintiff to move the plaintiff to haue a marriadge betweene them the plaintiff and the defendantes daughter Marye Mountioye, and herd M^r Shakespeare saye that he was wished by the defendant to make proffer of a certayne some that the defendant said he would geue the plaintiff with his daughter Marye Mount-

ioye in marriage, but he had forgott the some. And more
he cannott depose touching the same interrogatory.

[3) [Deposition of Nowell Mountjoy.]

4 To the iiiijth interrogatory this deponent sayth he was never sent by the defendant vnto the complainant to make a mocion to him of a marriadge to be hadd betwixte the complainant and Mary Mountjoy the defendantes sole child and daughter, nor knoweth of any other that was by the defendant sent vnto the plaintiff vppon that messiage: but the plaintiff tould this deponent that one M^r Shakespeare was employed by the defendant about that buysnes: in what manner: or to what effecte he knoweth not: . . .

[Shakespeare was not a party to this suit, which was discovered with other related documents by Professor Wallace. Christopher Mountjoy was a French Huguenot, who had apparently been resident in London for some years before 1600, when he was of St. Olave's parish. Probably then, and certainly in 1612, he occupied a house at the corner of Silver and Monkwell Sts., close to St. Olave's church, in Cripplegate ward, within the NW. corner of the city walls. His business was that of a tire-maker, and he had an apprentice, Stephen Belott, also of French extraction. On 19 Nov. 1604 Belott married Mountjoy's daughter Mary. Some years later he quarrelled with his father-in-law, and brought the suit of 1612, in which he alleged that Mountjoy had broken promises to pay a portion of £60 with his daughter and to make a will leaving her a further £200. The claims were disputed, and evidence as to the negotiations leading to the marriage became relevant. Joan Johnson, once a servant in Mountjoy's house, deposed that Shakespeare 'that laye in the house' had been his agent to persuade Belott to the marriage, and this was confirmed on hearsay from Shakespeare himself, but whether in 1604 or later is not clear, by one Daniel Nicholas, who further said that Shakespeare had named the portion to him as about £50 and some household stuff.

Obviously Shakespeare's own evidence was crucial. Unfortunately his memory failed him when he was examined on 11 May 1612. He had known the plaintiff and defendant for ten years and could speak to the plaintiff's good behaviour as an apprentice and the defendant's goodwill towards him. He had persuaded Belott to the marriage at the instigation of Mountjoy's wife. A portion had been promised, but he could not remember how much, or when it was to be paid, and knew nothing as to the alleged promise of a legacy or as to what goods had been given to Belott. Shakespeare's name appears in the margin of a set of interrogatories for a second hearing on 19 June, and presumably it was intended to press his memory further; but there is no second deposition by him. Nicholas repeated his hearsay and added that Belott and Mary Mountjoy were 'made sure', i.e. betrothed, by Shakespeare. Some slight confirmation, still at second-hand, was obtained as to Shakespeare's part in the matter from William Eaton, now an apprentice to Mountjoy, and Mountjoy's brother Nowell, and the court, after hearing other evidence, referred the case for arbitration to the overseers and elders of the French church in London. They awarded Belott 20 nobles which Mountjoy had not paid a year later. Incidentally they noted 'tous 2 pere & gendre desbauchéz', and later notes also record Mountjoy as of licentious life.

What we learn of Shakespeare is that he had known the Mountjoy household since 1602, had been a lodger in it, but perhaps only temporarily, in 1604, was described as of Stratford-on-Avon in 1612 and therefore presumably had no London residence, was present at Westminster on 11 May 1612, and, perhaps, was then of failing memory.

8. SHAKESPEARE AS MALTSTER

[1598, Feb. 4. Extract from *S.A. Misc. Doct. i. 106*. Presumably the holdings, such as Shakespeare's, not specified as corn, were in malt.]

Stratforde Burrowghe, Warrwicke. The noate of corne & malte Taken the iiiijth of februarij 1597 in the xlth yeare

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